HUEY'S CORNER: A TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X (SEE PAGE 9)

COMMEMORATOR

Published by the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party

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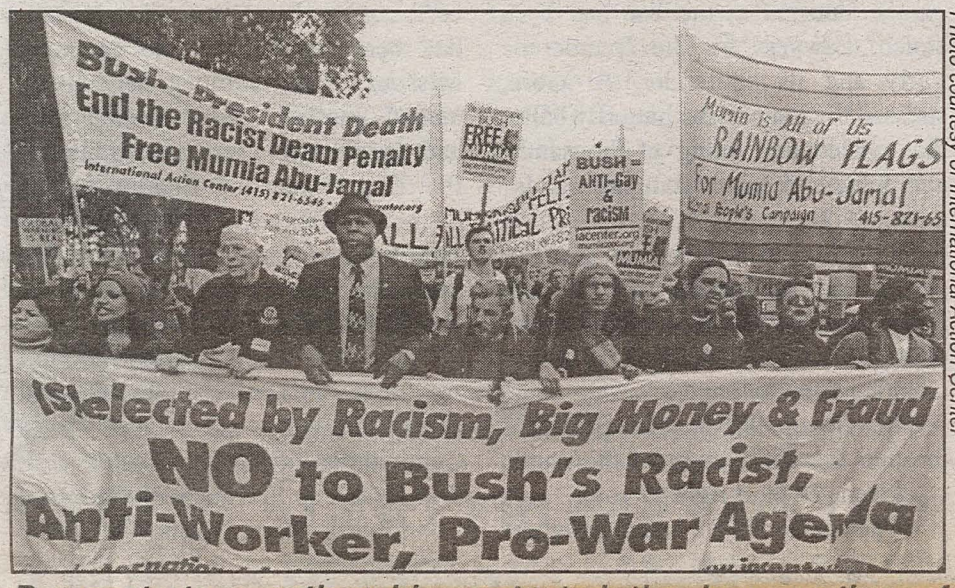
Demonstrators Nationwide Demand Justice In Wake of Supreme Court's Election Theft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NO to Bush's Racist,
Anti-Worker, Pro-War Agenda

Photo courtesy of International Action Center

Demonstrators nationwide protested the inauguration of George W. Bush on January 20, 2001 to demand justice in wake of election coup.

By Commemorator staff

Demonstrators nationwide pro-tested the inauguration of George W. Bush on January 20, 2001 after the United States Supreme Court decided December 12, 2000 by five to four decision to overturn the highest Florida court's order to recount tens of thousands of votes. The US Supreme Court majority opted to ignore allegations that the votes of thousands of minority and poor people had been undercounted and/or disallowed due to faulty machinery, fraud and intimidation, and ironically cited the right to equal protection under the law while violating and usurping that same constitutional principle.

"The Supreme Court claimed it was concerned about the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection rights but the only interests they protected were those of the minority of affluent, mostly white, Americans who invested over $100 million in return for Bush's $1.6 trillion tax cut and other give-aways at the expense of Black and minorities, in direct violation of the equal protection clause which it professed to preserve," stated Melvin Dickson, Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP) Chairman. "The judiciary has shown that neither democracy nor constitution rules in the US, just a handful of political cronies doing the bidding of the world's billionaires. It is not coincidental that oil prices and energy costs have since gone sky-high."

Vincent Bugliosi, former Los Angeles assistant District Attorney and author of *Helter Skelter*, in his article "None Dare Call It Treason" in *The Nation* (February 5, 2001) indicts the Supreme Court for "the suppression of truth" and "finally settling, in their judicial 'coup d'état' on the untenable argument that there was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause." He adds, "the Court reversed the Florida Supreme Court's order that the undervotes be counted, effectively delivering the presidency to Bush."

Protesters Across the Nation Demand Justice

Thousands of citizens across the country have taken to the streets since the Supreme Court's theft to demand justice and express outrage at the illegal disenfranchisement of minority and poor voters. On January 20, presidential inauguration day, at least 20,000 students, professionals, clergy and activists joined Black and other low-income workers in Washington, DC to chant, shout and jeer along the inauguration parade route, and rally in front of the White House, Supreme Court and at the Capitol Building, many carrying signs such as "Supreme Coup," "Hail to the Thief," "Not My President." Others carried American flags where corporate logos replaced the fifty stars.

An estimated 10,000 law enforcement officers patrolled the streets on horseback, motorcycle and on foot, controlling the crowds along the parade route where they stood five feet apart and by blockades and various metal detection checkpoints.

"I'm here to protest against the disenfranchisement of Black voters," one engineering consultant from New York who traveled to the nation's

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Third Annual Black History Celebration

By Ora Knowwell

Black and poor minority workers joined former Black Panther Party members, students, clergy, union members and community residents at Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party's Third Annual Black History Celebration on February 24th, held at Lowell Middle School in Oakland, California.

"Black history is labor history," said Melvin Dickson, Chair of CCBPP and *Commemorator* editor. "Black men and women were forcibly brought to America as chattel slaves, the cheapest form of labor at that time. Many of us are still slaves today; in the nation's prisons, or living in conditions of poverty and oppression. No one has to even pay to own them in order to exploit them. Each and every time labor tried to organize but left out Black and minority workers, or allowed any part of the working class to remain oppressed and unorganized, labor lost."

Dickson urged former Party members and veterans of the labor and civil rights struggles and others to join CCBPP's Bobby Hutton Literacy and Community Education Campaign to build an alternative education program for youth and minorities to teach the truth about what has and hasn't been successful in the fight to end conditions of illiteracy and ignorance. "Supporters of the status quo perpetuate misinformation and we must teach the true history to be able to win our freedom," added Dickson.

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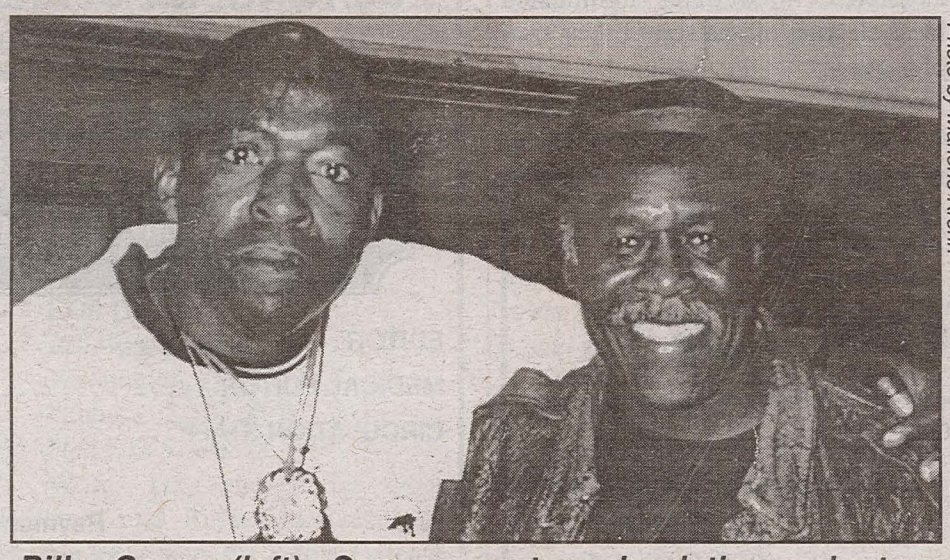

Photo by Marlene Krohn

Billy Goree (left),* Commemorator *circulation volunteer, embraces BPP founding member David Hilliard.

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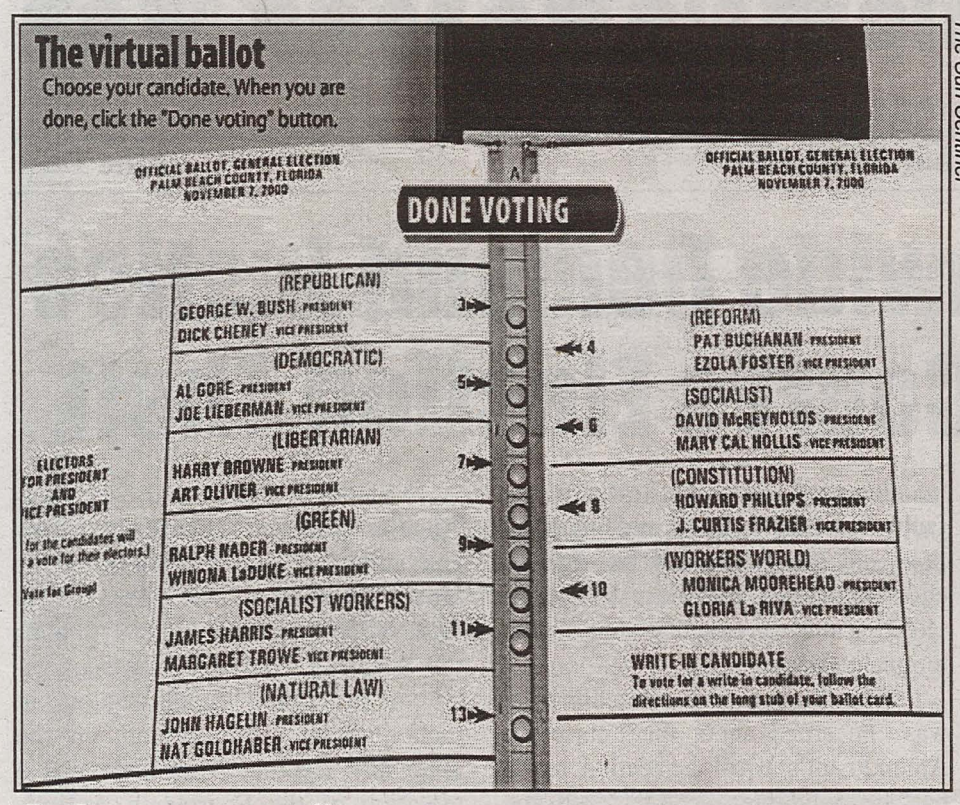
Election Aftermath

A Real Bush-Whacking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DICK CHENEY - VICE PRESIDENT
(DEMOCRATIC)
AL GORE - PRESIDENT
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(LIBERTARIAN)
HARRY BROWNE - PRESIDENT
ART OLIVIER - VICE PRESIDENT
(GREEN)
RALPH NADER - PRESIDENT
WINONA LaDUKE - VICE PRESIDENT
(SOCIALIST WORKERS)
JAMES HARRIS - PRESIDENT
MARGARET TROWE - VICE PRESIDENT
(NATURAL LAW)
JOHN HAGELIN - PRESIDENT
NAT GOLDHABER - VICE PRESIDENT
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Vote for Group
(REFORM)
PAT BUCHANAN - PRESIDENT
EZOLA FOSTER - VICE PRESIDENT
(SOCIALIST)
DAVID McREYNOLDS - PRESIDENT
MARY CAL HOLLIS - VICE PRESIDENT
(CONSTITUTION)
HOWARD PHILLIPS - PRESIDENT
J. CURTIS FRAZIER - VICE PRESIDENT
(WORKERS WORLD)
MONICA MOOREHEAD - PRESIDENT
GLORIA La RIVA - VICE PRESIDENT
WRITE-IN CANDIDATE
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The Sun Sentinel

By Commemorator staff

Less than 100 days into the tenure of President "Select" George W. Bush, the country and its people are getting a good "bush-whacking." With increased joblessness, greater poverty and higher prices, more uncertainty has followed in the wake of George W.'s seizing of the presidency after the unprecedented election coup in Florida.

The Supreme Court under Chief Justice William Rehnquist beamed at the swearing-in ceremony. Rehnquist's court had, in effect, appointed Bush to his supreme office by a five to four vote prohibiting the continued counting of Florida ballots. Protests to this coup were given no voice by the media. The media accepted the outcome in a "business as usual" manner, instantly referring to Bush as the "President-elect" as if the Supreme Court could create certainty out of the most dubious circumstances by refusing to inquire into the facts of the matter, and giving praise to the "smooth transfer of power" during the inauguration.

The vote in Florida — which newspapers and television narrowed down to a matter of chads, dimples and butterfly ballots — actually amounted to a reign of terror against African-American and Latino voters. During the voting, hundreds, if not thousands, of African-Americans were barred by state and local police in several counties from casting ballots on November 7. They were turned away from voting booths by police with such excuses as "liquor on their breath," or being listed as a "felon" on police records, or for minor infractions such as jaywalking, or for citations for being drunk in public. Later, when local recounts were attempted, hired thugs intimidated local election officials until they simply gave up.

Lawsuits were filed in January by a host of national organizations to remedy the illegal and unconstitutional purging of voter registration rolls and for depriving citizens of their right to vote. Leading the court fight is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Advancement Project, the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and People for the American Way Foundation.

The suits are like closing the garage door after the car has been stolen. Lawyers for the Democratic Party and its contender, Al Gore, stressed the issue of the butterfly ballot that misled the voting of thousands, and fought to have "hanging chads" counted. The constitutional violation of all disenfranchised voters and of not permitting thousands of African-Americans to vote was buried under piles of chads, and the daunting task of counting them by hand.

So George W. became president through the deprivation of thousands of citizens of their right to vote.

The election to the nation's highest office was a fraud and the only solace to its people was their knowledge that neither candidate was prepared to represent the majority of them. The Bush administration mobilized one of the largest police armies in the history of Washington DC — a force of over 10,000 police and federal agents — for the inauguration in January.

Once in office, Bush began repaying his well-heeled backers who had contributed close to two billion dollars to see him elected. Bush named the executive director of the Automobile Manufacturers Association his chief of staff. He chose the president of ALCOA (Aluminum) as his Secretary of Treasury. He selected a senator who had been rejected by the voters of Missouri as his Attorney General. He named another former senator who had sought two years ago to abolish the Department of Energy as his Secretary of Energy. He named an outright anti-environmentalist as Interior Secretary. The list goes on. And that was just his first tier of appointments.

He also named two African-Americans to top positions, General Colin Powell, who had been Commander of Daddy Bush's Gulf War forces, as Secretary of State, and Condoleeza Rice, formerly of the overtly counterrevolutionary Hoover Institute and the elite Stanford University, as National Security Advisor.

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Opinion-Editorial

The Real 'Constitutional Crisis'

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

Editor's note: The following column by Mumia Abu-Jamal was written November 21, 2000 in the immediate aftermath to the US presidential elections, while the Florida recount was still under way. Mumia brings to light data and political analysis that have ramifications for all future elections, making clear that the "You have come a long way, baby," projections of the media regarding enfranchisement of Blacks and other minorities in the United States are a lie.

In the days and weeks following Mumia's writing of this article, the travesty of the United States so-called "Democratic process" was exposed even further as the United States Supreme Court took upon itself the right to make the decision of who would become President of the United States, terminating the recount ordered by the Florida Supreme Court, and making clear that the actual *vote count was of no interest to those usurping to themselves the "kingmaker" role. To deepen its hypocritical stance, the US Supreme Court cited the equal protection clause as its primary ground.*

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Politics is the art of preventing people from taking part in affairs which properly concern them.

— Paul Valéry, French poet

As the swarm of lawyers descend on Florida (not to be outdone by the pack of journalists accompanying them), the language of legalese sends observers into fits of fury, as terms like "statutory construction," "stare decisis," and "public policy" merge into the muddle over "chads" (dimpled or pregnant?), voter's intent, and butterfly ballots.

The legal battles waged in the Sunshine State are remarkable as much for what they entail, as for what they ignore. They involve, of course, counting, as well as the method of counting, ballots involved in the election. What they ignore is the remarkable revelations presented by a panel convened by the heads of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and People for the American Way on the Saturday after the elections (Nov. 11, 2000).

Held like a formal hearing, with a stenographer acting as a court reporter, the panelists, among them NAACP CEO Kweisi Mfume, LCCRUL Executive Director Barbara Arnwine, and PFAW President Ralph Neas, questioned and examined a number of witnesses, all of whom had some involvement in the Florida elections.

What the witnesses testified to, less than a week after the polls closed, was nothing less than astounding. Adora Nweze, president of the NAACP State Conference in Florida, told of fighting for over 90 minutes with election officials at her polling place for the right to vote. She was told that an absentee ballot was sent to her (which she never received) and thus she was ineligible to vote. She told the panel, "We wanted you to come, even though we may not know the law, we knew it certainly was not right..."

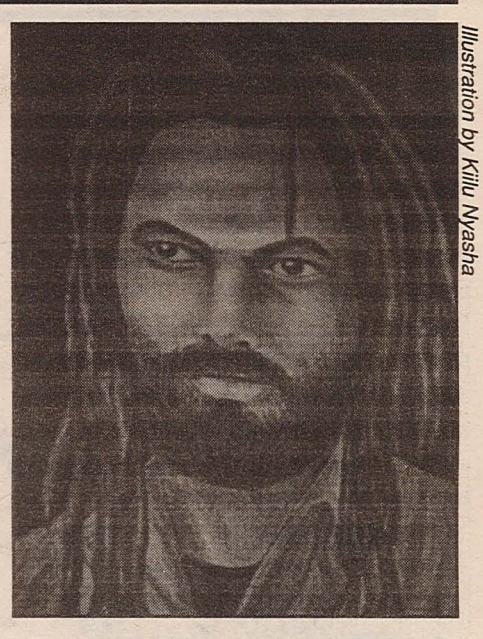

Illustration by Kiilu Nyasha

One wonders, if this happened to a savvy civil rights leader in Florida, what of someone who wasn't so savvy?

Several students from the historically Black university in Florida, [Florida A&M University], told of registering on-line at election.com, only to find out that they weren't registered when they tried to vote.

A voting rights canvasser, who organized car rides to the polls, told of hundreds of elderly who were told they weren't registered. Indeed, this canvasser, a young woman named

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URGENT ALERT FROM LEONARD PELTIER DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Prison Authorities Cracking Down on Peltier and All Federal Prisoners

Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary is banning the media from interviewing Leonard Peltier. In the last week [January, 2001], all pending interview requests from established media networks and reporters were denied. Prison authorities say that they are facilitating too many press visits and their staff is unable to handle the volume. However, Peltier has not done an interview for several months.

Secondly, Leonard Peltier and other prisoners received memos in January, 2001 from the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) stating that federal prisoners' phone calls will be restricted to 300 minutes per month, averaging to about 10 minutes per day. Already, prisoners can only call a limited amount of people who are registered on a pre-approved list. Phone calls cannot exceed 15 minutes, no more than one call per prisoner can be made in a half hour duration and calls can only be made during certain segments of the day. Of course the cost prisoners pay for the calls is exorbitant. Both phone call and visitation privileges have been gradually eroded over the past few years by the BOP, and will likely diminish completely if the public does not fight back.

We at the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee find these two developments to be an alarming sign that prison authorities plan to cut prisoners off from communication with the public. This dangerous trend will make prison staff even less accountable for prisoner abuse. Moreover, it will have a devastating effect on the families of prisoners, and on the defense networks of political prisoners whose voices will be largely stifled.

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED!

Write, fax, and flood the phone lines of Kathleen Hawk Sawyer,

BOP Director
320 First St. NW,
Washington, DC 20534
Phone: 202-307-3198
Fax: 202-514-6878

Write, fax, and phone your Senators and Representatives (See sample letter from the Peltier Defense Committee, next to this article).

Dear Board of Prison Terms,

In opposing The Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) plans to implement new phone restrictions for federal prisoners which will limit prisoners phone access to 300 minutes per month, we are saying imprisonment is a harsh enough penalty for those convicted of crimes. Restricting contact with family and friends is just a cruel punishment and will greatly hinder rehabilitation.

Legislation that has established longer prison sentences, the abolishment of federal parole, and the restriction of avenues for redress in the courts has had devastating effects on millions of family members of the convicted. The existing phone and visitation privileges at least allow prisoners minimal participation in family affairs, as well as a healthy connection to the outside world. Furthermore, the emotional stress the new phone restriction is bound to have on prisoners will surely interfere with the daily conduct of prison affairs. Therefore, we strongly urge you to discourage the BOP from implementing what will be a devastating change.

Furthermore, we have been made aware that the prison officials at USP Leavenworth are denying access to all journalists and media networks wishing to interview federal prisoner Leonard Peltier, the Native American activist deemed a political prisoner by Amnesty International. The media has been in to interview Mr. Peltier in the past, and we are fully aware that such visits can be done in accordance with security concerns. A ban on media entering any BOP institution makes us wonder what the institution might have to hide. We urge the BOP to lift the ban.

Both of these developments are quite disturbing and signal to the public the BOP's desire to suppress the realities inside federal prisons. We can see no justification for such changes and the Committee respectfully requests that these matters be addressed accordingly. Thank you for your time and attention.

Sincerely,

Leonard Peltier Defense Committee
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Letter to the Editor

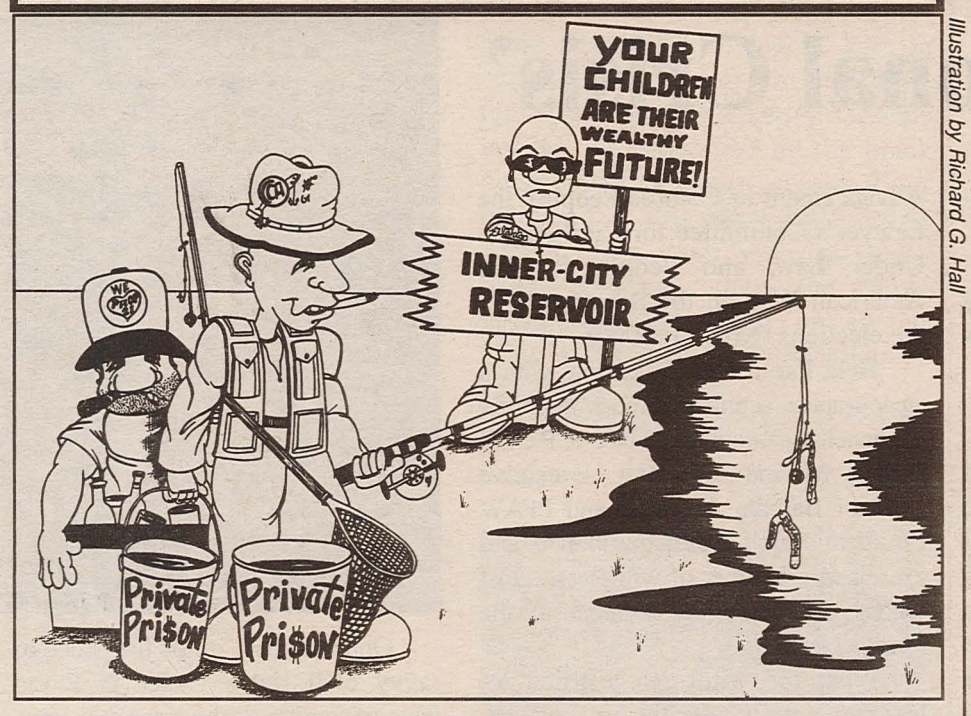

Illustration by Richard G. Hall

'The Truth'

Dear Editor,

The Missouri Departments of Justice and Corrections have continued the oppression of men of African descent here in America as shown through the increased crime statistics. To better understand this process you must know the economic division of capitalism through its superstructure here in America, which oppresses the poor, the weak and mentally ill.

What do the vast majority of people in the Departments of Justice and Corrections think when they look at the statistics of people incarcerated? Are they at all troubled by the disproportionate number of men of African descent here in America who are being incarcerated at an alarming rate?

Those branches of government show very little concern for this question. Why? They make decisions and take action without checking with anyone affected.

Here in America, African descent men between ages 13 and 65 make up 7% of the US population and 51% to 54% of the US prison population. According to Departments of Justice and Corrections, 39% of men of African descent men are likely to be arrested, charged, tried and convicted sent to prison; 19% for Latinos, and 2% for Caucasians.

Race seems to influence the views of the Departments of Justice and Corrections administrators, in accordance with the disproportionate percentage of African descent prisoners now compared to the percentage years ago when the largest percentage of prisoners here in America were European and Caucasian descent men.

As the percentage of European and men of Caucasian descent here in American prisons has dropped and the percentage of men of African descent being incarcerated has risen, the

Continued on page 14

Mumia Abu-Jamal Dismisses Legal Team

Life and Death Battles Ahead

By Jeff Mackler

Editor's Note: The Commemorator *has learned that on May 4, Mumia's new lawyers, Nicholas R.D. Brown, Marlene Kamish, Eliot Lee Grossman and M. Michael Farrell filed three affidavits with the United States District Court: one by Mumia Abu-Jamal, one by Mumia's brother, William Cook, and one by Arnold R. Beverly. Mumia states in his affidavit that he did not kill Police Office Faulkner, and Cook, who was present at the incident, concurs, Beverly states that he shot police office Daniel Faulkner in the face, and that he had been hired by the mob because Faulkner "interfered with the graft and payoffs" made to have prostitution, gambling and drug-dealing continue unhindered by police in an area of bars and strip clubs on Locust Street near 13th Street in Center City, Philadelphia. District Judge Yohn has yet to Determine whether he will allow an evidentiary hearing based on this and and previous evidence filed with his court.*

Mumia Abu-Jamal, award-winning journalist, innocent death row inmate and internationally known political prisoner for the past 19 years, has filed an unexpected "Motion for Withdrawal of Counsel for Conflict of Interest."

On Monday, March 5 Jamal formally moved to dismiss his chief legal counsel, Leonard Weinglass, and his co-counsel, Daniel Williams. Jamal's petition, filed in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District states: "On Saturday, February 24, 2001 via FedEx, Petitioner [Jamal] learned definitively that Mr. Williams was in the late processes of publishing a book on the instant case, purported to be an 'inside account.'"

Jamal cited Rule 1.8(d) of the "Rules of Professional Conduct, Prohibited Transactions," which prohibits "making or negotiating a literary agreement based substantially on information acquired by way of a lawyer's representation."

The petition states further:

"Upon information and belief, Petitioner avers that counsel has created a clear undeniable conflict of interest based upon the said publication of an 'inside account' which constitutes a breach of client loyalty.

...counsel has created a clear undeniable conflict of interest.

"Accordingly, Petitioner seeks the withdrawal of present counsel immediately, entry of *pro se* status and grant of reasonable time within which to hire counsel for the petitioner." The term "*pro se*" or "for himself," means that for the time being, Mumia is without counsel and is representing himself.

Mumia's petition provides the following argumentation: "It is a long-standing principle of the law that where a conflict of interest exists between client and counsel, the right to effective assistance of counsel is seriously impaired. This is so because in such an instance, 'Counsel breaches the duty of loyalty,' a characteristic deemed to be 'perhaps the most basic' of counsel duties.' *Strickland v. Washington,* 466 US 665 (1984)."

The petition concludes with a citation from Rule 1.8 (d) above. "Prior to the conclusion of representation of client a lawyer shall not make or negotiate an agreement giving the lawyer literary or media rights to a portrayal or account based in substantial part on information relating to the representation."

The book in question, authored by Dan Williams, is titled, "Executing Justice: An Inside Account Of The Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal." Scheduled for publication by St. Martin's Press, New York, on April 9, it has not been seen by Mumia or by

Continued on page 18

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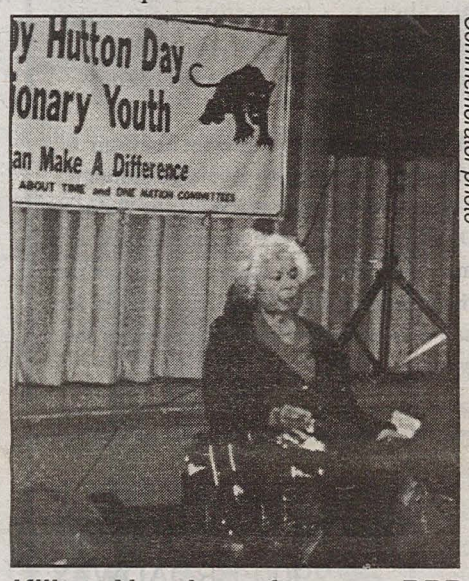
Bobby Hutton Day Highlights Political Prisoners and Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign

Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP) attended The Bobby Hutton Day Celebration at the West Oakland library April 28. The event highlighted the need to organize the community around positive programs in addressing the day-to-day needs of the oppressed community, while building for people power. Speaker after speaker related the event to the need to build and fight for power, to make "All Power to the People," a reality, versus a pipe dream. CCBPP Chairperson Melvin Dickson urged attendees to help build the Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign.

Terry Cotton, a member of the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party and a former political prisoner who was with Li'l Bobby the last day he was alive, introduced the speakers.

Photo by Judge Rice

Robert King Wilkerson, recently released after spending 29 years at Angola (Louisiana) prison for a crime he did not commit, speaks on the conditions inside US prisons.



Commemorator photo

Kiilu Nyasha, former BPP member, comments on political prisoners at the Li'l Bobby Hutton Day, April 28, 2001.

Among the speakers was Robert King Wilkerson, who was recently released from Angola (Louisiana) prison after 29 years for a crime he did not commit. Wilkerson spoke about the need to organize the outside community in support of the prison community as a way to address the capitalist exploitation and genocide conditions that we face both in and outside of prisons.

The Literacy Campaign continues to garner support. Student organizers from Merritt College, who recently succeeded in having the Student Lounge named after BPP founders Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, have pledged to raise funds to purchase a headstone for Li'l Bobby's gravesite and to help with the campaign.

"To commemorate Li'l Bobby is to recognize the challenge we face today, because Li'l Bobby represents a class interest and a victimized race of people," stated Dickson.

Founding Leaders

David Hilliard, former Black Panther leader who, as Chief of Staff, accepted leadership when Huey was imprisoned in October, 1967, told the audience that he is currently putting together a line of Black Panther clothing to raise money for political prisoner causes and positive programs for political prisoners.

Emory Douglass, former Black Panther Party leader, who served as the Minister of Culture described Li'l Bobby. "He was young and energetic like any youth, but when it comes down to taking care of [BPP] business, Li'l Bobby was out front standing tall."

Food was provided by Food Not Bombs. Star Groove entertained the audience with groovy sound at intermission and at the end of the program.

Tribute to Bobby James Hutton

April, 1951 to April, 1968

Support CCBPP'S campaign to purchase a headstone for Li'l Bobby's gravesite.
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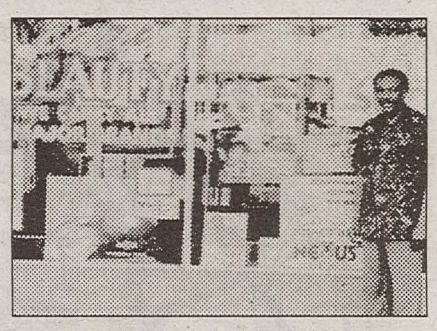

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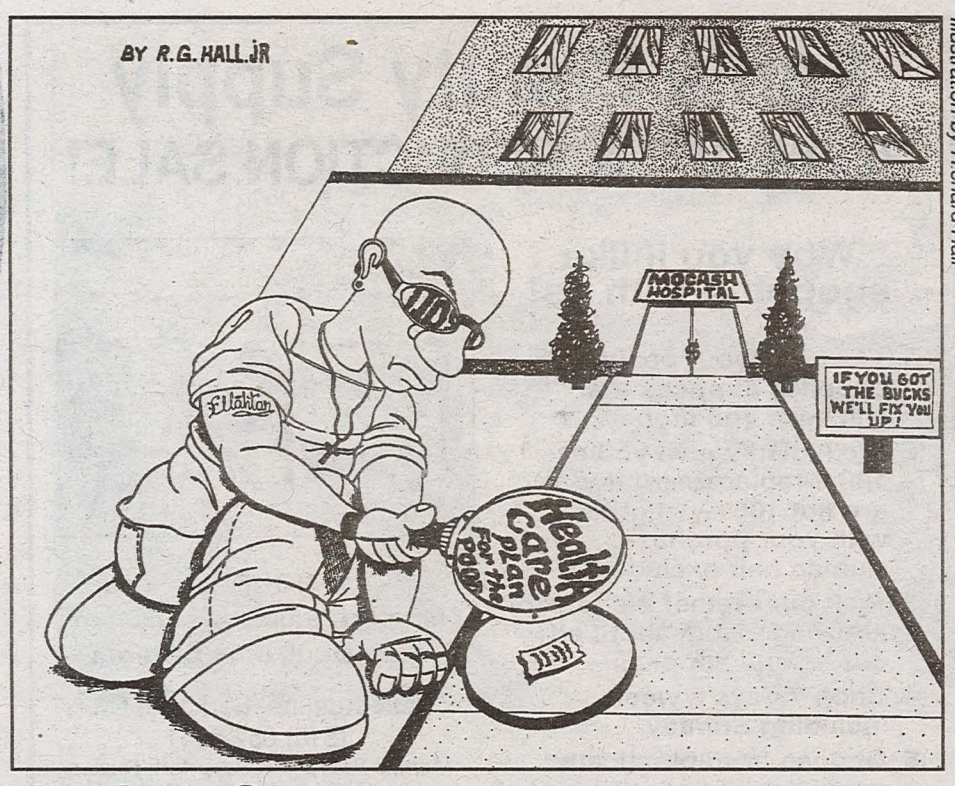

Illustration by Richard Hall

Artist Corner:

Richard G. Hall

On March 27, *The Commemorator* received a packet of wonderful cartoons in the mail from Richard G. Hall, Jr. containing political and social satire of the kind that we feel will enhance the message we are trying to get across.

Brother Hall uses his cartoons to communicate the reality and the oppression he sees, in the hope his work will help to stimulate political interest and action against the injustices that he attacks: the electoral process, reform, civil rights, incarceration of African Americans and the growth of the prison industrial complex. His cartoons convey his political beliefs and concepts in such a way as to provide understanding and insight. "If I'm going to illustrate a cartoon for hundreds, thousands or millions to see, I'm going to say something to make a positive difference in their lives — not make another meaningless joke," Hall explains.

Brother Hall is from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and has won several awards for his art since his early high school years. His work has appeared in a number of publications, including *Reggae Calendar, The Community Endeavor News, Fortune News* and the American Civil Liberties Union's *National Journal*. Since his career began 1988, he has had over 60 pieces published.

Hall is presently incarcerated at Soledad prison. Though physically detained, he hasn't surrendered his principles, mind and spirit.

Hall recently wrote, "If I do not, as an individual, align myself with other individuals who suffer from the same or similar conditions, who is going to do something effective in terms of bringing about improvements to such ill?"

In the words of Dr. Huey P. Newton, "Let us go on outdoing ourselves; a revolutionary man always transcends himself or otherwise he is not a revolutionary man, so we always do what we ask of ourselves or more than what we know we can do."

The Commemorator urges others to join the struggle to their fullest extent as Hall has.

All power to the people!

Rescue the Word

For Fear of Being Called

By Marilyn Buck

In Peru a demonstration against a rise in bread prices is stopped because of threats to denounce those who demand bread as terrorists.

we fear language
an electric cattle prod
to drive us into corners
where we cower
for fear of being called
terrorists or communists
or criminals.

why do we allow
capitalists & congressmen
to rob us of our language
to intimidate us into cutting
out our tongues
to paralyze our movement?

why are we more afraid to
be called terrorists than to
die in the dark leaving no
one to speak for us?

February 1996

Illustration by Marilyn Buck

Rescue the Word:
Poems by Marilyn Buck
$5 a copy. Order directly from
Friends of Marilyn Buck
c/o LSPC 100 McAllister Street 2nd floor
San Francisco, CA 94102

Marilyn Buck's poetry comes to us through razor wire, and are contraband nuggets of hope and vision from a life lived for justice. She has been a political prisoner for twenty years. Her writing is testament to her refusal to compromise or to be broken.

Marilyn began her anti-racist activism as a teenager in Texas. As a college student, she organized against the war in Vietnam. During the 1970s, she aligned herself with the Black liberation movement, joined the rising women's movement and fought for self-determination for people all over the world and within the US borders.

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International Update

Zapatistas Fight for Indigenous and Low-Income Workers' Rights, Oppose Free Trade Expansion in Americas

Fox Attends FTAA Summit

FREE PEOPLE NOT FREE TRADE
RESIST FTAA
CREATE JUST DIRECTLY DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVES
FAIR TRADE NOT FREE TRADE
FREE PEOPLE NOT FREE TRADE

Photo by Charles Slay

April 20, 2001, San Diego, California — demonstrators protest meeting of representatives of the so-called Free Trade Area of the Americas.

By Zachary Nelson

On March 23, ten days after a caravan of Zapatistas and their supporters arrived in Mexico City following a trek through the jungles of southern Mexico, the leaders of the Zapatista rebel movement obtained permission to speak before the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, an unprecedented step in their determined fight for the freedom of indigenous people and other poor workers, in a country where uprisings have traditionally met bloody ends at the hands of government. This action, which received scant and prejudiced coverage in the US mass media, forced President Vicente Fox to cut short his visit to California where he was promoting free trade across the US-Mexican borders and throughout the Americas, policies that will continue to destroy the economic livelihood of workers North and South.

Comandante Esther, addressing the Mexican Congress, pointed out that it was not the military section of the Zapatistas speaking before them that day, but its civil section that is present. The FZLN (Zapatista Front of National Liberation), an arm of the EZLN (Zapatista Army of National Liberation), was formed in 1996 as a national, nonviolent and independent civilian political force with its base in the EZLN. She said that while they were encouraged by new President Fox's withdrawal of the Mexican army from seven Chiapas camps, this is only the beginning of what must be done. Esther called for the fulfillment of the other two of the "three signs" of the government's willingness to engage in peaceful dialogue with the EZLN: the constitutional implementation of the San Andrés Accords — which were negotiated under the government of former President Zedillo in 1996, but never implemented — and the release of Zapatista prisoners.

The San Andrés Accords would allow indigenous people to choose their own form of local government with local autonomy, form their own judicial systems to administer justice in accordance with their traditions, give them greater legal control over their land, take measures to preserve their languages and cultures and run their own media, preserve human rights and give the indigenous people of Chiapas representation in the Mexican Congress.

Continued on page 17

Book Review

Blowback

Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire. By Chalmers Johnson.

Metropolitan Books, a division of Henry Holt & Company. 268 pages, $26 hardback, $15 paperback.

By Mel Fiske

Blowback is a good word to remember and use, now and in the future. It comes from the lexicon of the CIA and it means "what goes around comes around," and "the stuff hits the fan" and "you reap what you sow." The term was invented by CIA agents to explain otherwise inexplicable events to each other. Chalmers Johnson, a professor emeritus at the University of California, San Diego, defines it as "the unintended consequences of policies that were kept secret from the American people."

For example, he writes, "what the daily press reports as the malignant acts of 'terrorists' or 'drug lords' or 'rogue states' or 'illegal arms merchants' often turn out to be blowback from earlier American operations."

The operations, of course, are the secret CIA actions such as supplying arms to the Taliban in Afghanistan, the Contras in Nicaragua, the paramilitary forces in Colombia — and receiving in turn opium, heroin and cocaine to spread through the ghettoes and cities of North America. What happened after the drugs went down is more blowback.

It was all part of the effort to make America the pre-eminent nation of the world, the guardian and policeman, the banker and monopolist — the major imperialist power. After World War II, the US took over Japan and as many East Asian countries as it could. Through the Marshall Plan, the US put Western European nations under political restrictions, economic subservience and military occupation by US forces. Johnson plots this building of the American Empire through and after the Cold War.

"The indispensable instrument for maintaining the American Empire," he writes, "is its huge military establishment." The Pentagon is no longer under "civilian" control; it is a force that has displaced the old idea that the military is just one of the means a government employs to make and implement policy. It makes and implements policy on its own and "more or less sets its own agenda."

American militarism and the empire it supports will collapse, he predicts. It's not a question of whether this will happen, but *when* it will happen.

With its vast militarism, at home and abroad, the US has sown despair, poverty and sickness. In one area alone, its maintenance of a nuclear arsenal, it has spent staggering sums that could bankrupt the world. The Brookings Institution says it has cost the US an unbelievable $5.5 trillion to build its array of nuclear weapons.

In today's world, 10 million children a year die of malnutrition and dehydration, nearly 30,000 a day. The cost of saving these lives has been estimated by the World Health Organization to be equivalent to what the United States tobacco companies spend just to ADVERTISE cigarettes. Yet the US government has spent $5.5 trillion on a nuclear arsenal and now President Bush is suggesting to Congress that he needs more money for an enlarged Star Wars program. Consider what a part of these huge sums could have done on a positive basis for the people of the US, or the world? Now it is going to go down the drain, into the pockets of the military-industrial complex. A blowback is necessary to restore a common sense balance to world problems: feeding and sheltering the hungry, eliminating disease and providing health care for all, developing jobs for all who want to work. That should take care of a mere trillion or so.

Blowback, the book, can give us more impetus in our fight to create a society which allows for a free people under self-rule to care for and feed themselves, without the encumbrances of wealthy, bloodthirsty empire-seekers.

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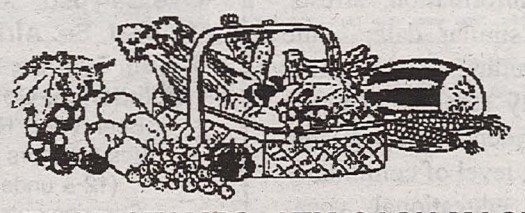

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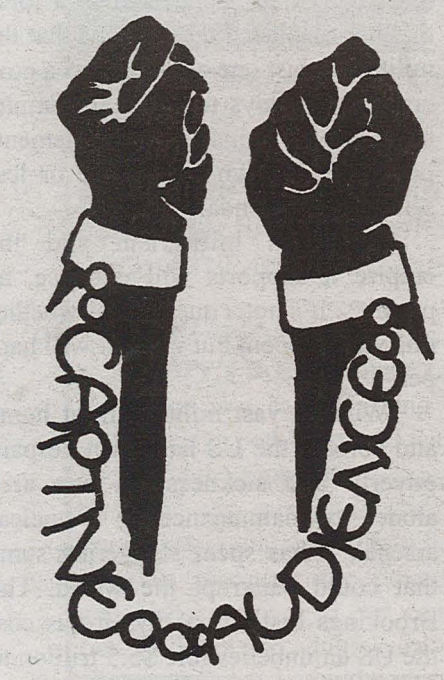
WHEN CRIMINAL RISK FACTORS EQUAL SOCIAL CONDITION



By John Donner

Editor's note: This is Part II of an article started in The Commemorator *February, 2001. The first defined the problem, this will define the solution.*

Membership in the poor, lower-income class and/or an oppressed racial or ethnic minority group, especially African-American or non-white Latino, combined with the oppressive social conditions such class and group members exist under, are considered *criminal risk* factors by American parole and criminal justice authorities. The practical effect of this is to taint an entire class and/or racial or ethnic minority group as being *criminally suspect* by defining as *criminal risk factors* the same oppressive social conditions upon which institutional class and racial discrimination are substantially crafted in the first place.

A meticulous and objective analysis of what American parole and criminal justice authorities have defined as criminal risk factors reveals that *these factors are identically equal to the body of oppressive social conditions under which members of the poor, lower-income class and/or oppressed racial or ethnic minority groups, exist daily.* In short, the state defines the oppressive social conditions associated with poverty, lower-income and/or oppressed racial or ethnic minority class and group status, as *criminal risk factors* which predict and determine criminal inclination.

Factors considered relevant to criminal risk assessment by parole and criminal justice authorities include: criminal record information, arrests, convictions and similar data; home environment (including whether crime is present), family stability, whether community of residence is designated a *high crime* area; level of community support; income, educational, vocational and professional training level and work history; substance abuse and similar record factors.

The oppressive social conditions under which poor, lower-income class and/or oppressed racial or ethnic minorities exist typically include the negative aspects of the above-stated parole and criminal justice system-defined criminal risk factors. Oppressive social conditions of poor, lower-income class and oppressed minority communities include disproportionately higher arrest-conviction-sentencing rates, unstable family-community environments aggravated by poverty, inadequate income and lack of educational, vocational and other job training opportunities. All of this contributes to poor work history, substance abuse and other problems.

It follows that the backgrounds and records of persons who are members of the poor, lower-income class and/or an oppressed racial or ethnic minority group statistically have a high rate of criminal risk factors as defined by parole and criminal justice authorities. This is necessarily so, because the criminal risk factors in question have been defined such that they equal the *oppressive* social conditions under which the poor, lower-income class and/or oppressed racial or ethnic minorities typically exist.

According to Greenhaven Think Tank, as of 1992, at least 75% to 80% of New York State prisoners came from seven low-income, inner-city and predominantly minority neighborhoods. Jerome G. Miller, writing for the National Center on Institutions and Alternatives in 1992, found that, "[i]n some inner-city areas, *virtually every resident has a close relative, and over 50 percent have a parent who is in prison, on probation, on parole, in jail or in hiding because there is a warrant out for their arrest.*"

Hence, in New York State there is a 75% to 80% chance that, if you are a prisoner whose release prior to expiration of sentence depends upon the decision of a parole or parole-type board, then you are from one of the seven low-income neighborhoods which supply the state prison system with the bulk of its bodies as raw material. If such a prisoner is, in addition, from an inner-city area where almost every resident has a relative and over 50% have a parent either sought by or under criminal justice supervision, then the odds are overwhelming that you have defined *criminal risk factors* in your record.

If you are a New York State prisoner, the odds are that you are low-income (almost by definition) and probably an oppressed racial or ethnic minority. The odds are close to certain that you have a relative — and more than one in two that you have a parent — hiding from an arrest warrant, in jail, prison or on parole or probation. Hence, your home and family situation is probably unstable and considered to be a criminal risk factor.

The seven low-income inner-city areas that act as feeder plants for the New York State prison system contain neighborhoods designated as "high crime areas." The fact that a person is in one of these areas is a factor which operates to help give a law enforcement officer probable cause to follow, stop, detain, search and arrest him/her. If you live and/or plan to return to a designated "high crime area" and are appearing before a parole or parole-type release board, then there will be an automatic, negative check-off in the community stability, criminal risk factor box.

The Sentencing Project found that, on an average day in America in 1995, one out of every three African-American men aged 20-29 years old was under criminal justice supervision. The United States Census Bureau (1996, No. 82) reports that of *all African-American children under 18 years old*, living with at least one parent aged 25-29 years old, *77.4% live with their mothers only*. This begs the question of where their fathers are. The Census Bureau found that many of their fathers are in the 20-29 year old African-American male group, one-third of whom are under criminal justice supervision on any given day. If these children ever appear before a parole board, these aspects of their background will be considered criminal risk factors. *This is what happens when your social condition has been defined as a criminal risk factor.*

Criminal Justice Policies Destroy People, Families and Communities

Judging the soundness of parole and criminal justice policies includes understanding their impact on the communities and families serving as *feeder plants,* supplying prisoners (people) as the basic raw material input, without which the *criminal justice industrial-complex* could not function, as political economy. This understanding requires identifying the strategic needs of America's poor, lower-income class and oppressed, disproportionately minority communities.

Each *strategic need* of a community is matched to an oppressive social condition of its existence. The overwhelming majority of oppressive social conditions are linked to *inadequate income*. Inadequate income is directly caused by systematic *economic exploitation of and negative, unequal distribution of income and wealth to* these communities, under a system of social oppression based on *institutional class and racial discrimination.*

The end result is the *institutionalization of poverty.* This manifests itself as the collective inability to afford adequate health-care, housing, nutrition, or to maintain stable family, business, and economic and political bases as community and class institutions. The systematic removal of millions of prisoners from these feeder plant communities is just as economically destabilizing as was the systematic removal of millions of African slaves

Continued on page 16

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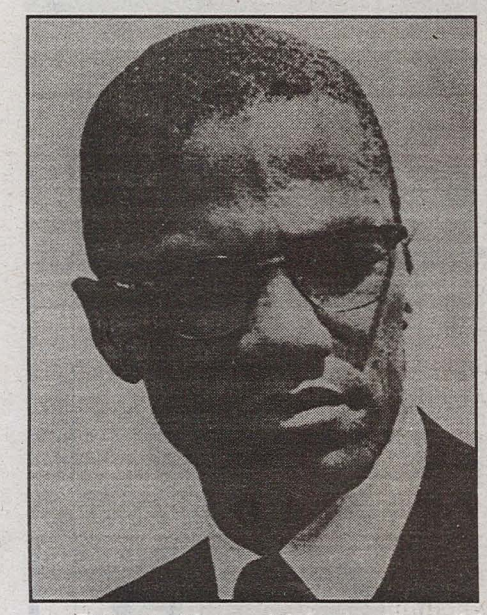
Archives

Huey's Corner

A Tribute to Malcolm X



Editor's Note: *Malcolm X would have celebrated his 76th birthday May 19, 2001, so we have dedicated this Huey's Corner to him. What follows are two of Malcolm X's speeches,* "Message to the Grass Roots," (1963) *and* "After the Bombing" (1965) *from* Malcolm X Speaks *(edited by George Breitman), and a commentary of Dr. Newton on the movement,* "Huey Newton Talks to the Movement about the Black Panther Party, Cultural Nationalism, SNCC, Liberals and White Revolutionaries," *from* The Movement Toward a New America: The Beginnings of a Long Revolution, *by Mitchell Goodman.*

The excerpt from "Message to the Grass Roots" is from 1963, when Malcolm was one of the chief speakers at the finale of a two-day Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference held in Detroit, Michigan, and one of the last speeches Malcolm gave before Elijah Muhammad silenced him and Malcolm X left the Black Muslim organization. Malcolm X talks about the reality of revolution, which can brook no compromise and must destroy all that gets in its way, nationalism, the difference in attitude toward revolution between field slave and house slaves, comparing the house slave's role to twentieth century "Uncle Toms" – keeping the rest of the black population passive, peaceful and in check despite the violence and suffering perpetrated against them every day.

"After the Bombing" is from a speech Malcolm gave in Detroit, Michigan on February 13, 1965, the day after he returned from his trip to the Mideast, Africa and Europe, and his Queens home – where he, his wife and their four children were sleeping – was bombed. Malcolm speaks about his belief in Islam, a religion of brotherhood practiced by blacks and whites in Mecca, where color was a person's incidental characteristic. Malcolm describes the opposite condition in the United States where the controlling white rulers utilize racism, segregationism, and violent oppression domestically and internationally against dark-skinned people, while hypocritically spouting "non-violence" in their press to all peoples fighting for their liberation and freedom. Malcolm warns his listeners not to be duped by "the man's word," who will not stop at mass genocide of the black people.

Dr. Newton ties this all together, describing the differentiation between revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism, cultural nationalism (which he calls "pork chop" nationalism) and provides national and international examples of these political positions, utilizing Malcolm's field and house slave motif, concluding the Black Panther Party are the field blacks, hoping the master dies when he gets sick, while the black bourgeoisie, the house slaves who support the status quo, are the Black Panther Party's enemy.

In 1968, Dr. Newton called for black revolutionaries in the United States to take action and set an example as to how to respond to oppression and to teach and educate our communities that there are answers if we join together and fight for solutions, starting with the Ten point program of the Black Panther Party to meet people's needs.

We still need to put in that program.

1963 Message to the Grassroots

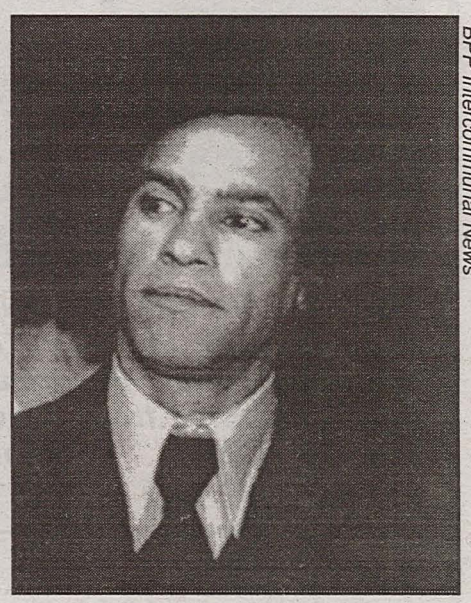
By Malcolm X

Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, "I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me." No, you need a revolution. Whoever heard of a revolution where they lock arms, as Rev. Cleage was pointing out beautifully, singing "We Shall Overcome"? You don't do that in a revolution. You don't do any singing, you're too busy swinging. It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These Negroes aren't asking for any nation — they're trying to crawl back on the plantation.

When you want a nation, that's called nationalism. When the white man became involved in a revolution in this country against England, what was it for? He wanted this land so he could set up another white nation. That's white nationalism. The American Revolution was white nationalism. The French Revolution was white nationalism. The Russian Revolution too — yes, it was — white nationalism. You don't think so? Why do you think Khrushchev and Mao can't get their heads together? White nationalism. All the revolutions that are going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what? — black nationalism. A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation. I was reading some beautiful words by Rev. Cleage, pointing out why he couldn't get together with someone else in the city because all of them were afraid of being identified with black nationalism. If you're afraid of black nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism.

To understand this, you have to go back to what the young brother here referred to as the house Negro and the field Negro back during slavery. There were two kinds of slaves, the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negroes — they lived in the house with master, they dressed pretty good, they ate good because they ate his food — what he left. They lived in the attic or the basement, but still they lived near the master; and they loved the master more than the master loved himself. They would give their life to save the master's house — quicker than the master would. If the master said, "We got a good house here," the house Negro would say, "Yeah, we got a good house here." Whenever the master said "we," he said "we." That's how you can tell a house Negro.

If the master's house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than the master would. If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, "What's the matter, boss, we sick?" We sick! he identified himself with his master, more than his master identified with himself. And if you came to the house Negro and said, "Let's run away, let's escape, let's separate," the house Negro would look at you and say, "Man, you crazy. What you mean, separate? Where is there a better house than this? Where can I wear better clothes than this? Where can I eat better food than this?" That was that house Negro. In those days he was called a "house nigger." And that's what we call them today, because we've still got some house niggers running around here.



BPP Intercommunal News

This modern house Negro loves his master. He wants to live near him. He'll pay three times as much as the house is worth just to live near his master, and then brag about, "I'm the only Negro out here." "I'm the only one on my job." "I'm the only one in this school." You're nothing but a house Negro. And if someone comes to you right now and says, "Let's separate," you say the same thing that the house Negro said on the plantation. "What you mean, separate? From America, this good white man?" I mean, this is what you say. "I ain't left nothing in Africa," that's what you say. Why, you left your mind in Africa.

On that same plantation, there was the field Negro. The field Negroes — those were the masses. There were always more Negroes in the field than there were Negroes in the house. The

Continued on page 11

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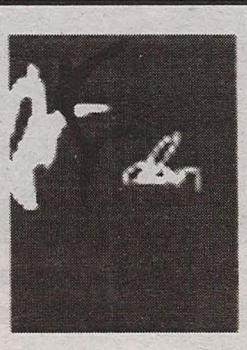

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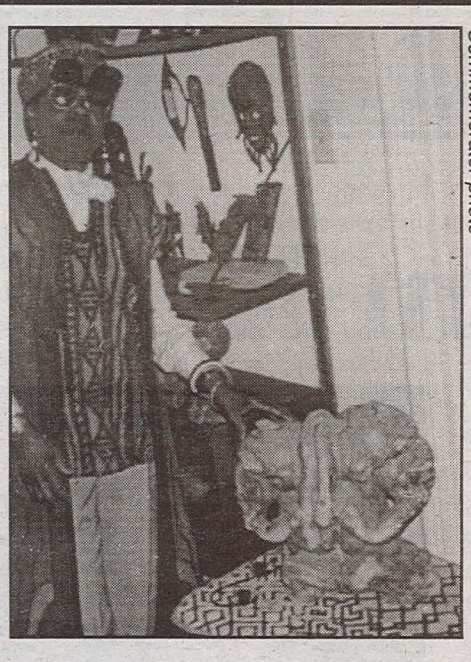


Commemorator photo

Aissatoui Vernita, Museum founder, tells the story of sculpture the European thinkers copied from above original 3000 year–old African sculpture.

Commemorator Sponsor:

Oakland's Ebony Museum

Art Tells Story of African Civilization Meets West

Commemorator photo

Oakland's Ebony Museum of Art was founded in 1980 and has since become an institution where people from far and wide visit to experience the rich and wide variety of African civilization.

Commemorator photo

In the United States, Blacks were often depicted by white art as subhuman with tails.

By Jon B. Gordon

On the morning of Saturday, April 28, 2001, Melvin Dickson (*Commemorator* Editor) led me to the The Ebony Museum of Arts, Inc. When we arrived a class tour had just begun. The class was led by Aissatoui Avola Vernita, the founder and curator of the West Oakland facility, located at 1034 Fourteenth Street in Oakland. Vernita, who opened the the West Oakland museum 21 years ago, showed us many artifacts – some as old as 5000 years.

The Museum consists of the Art and History of Blacks (African and African American).

In African artwork, you can distinguish one country's artwork from another by the patterns used. Items made for community use are also works of art – tools, cookware, things used for medical purposes, etc.

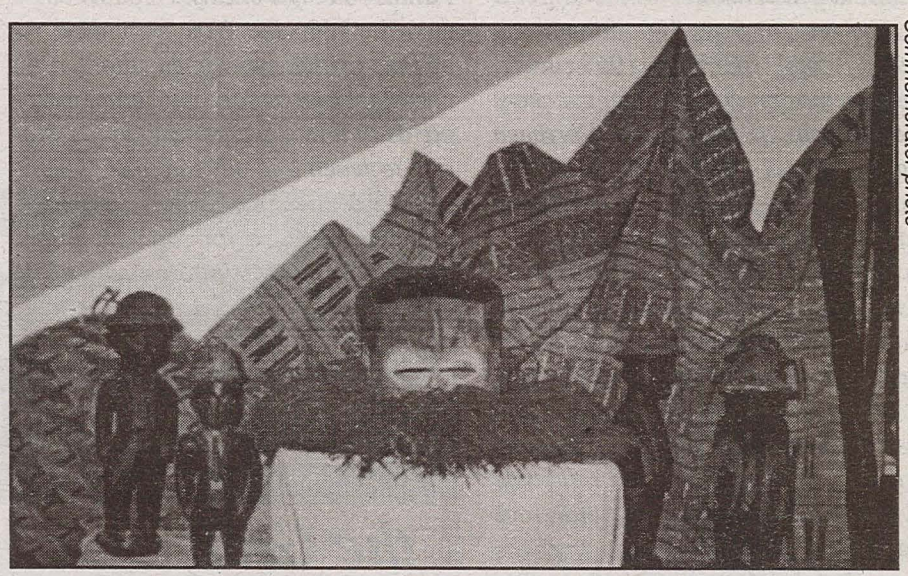
Many African sculptures were made by the lost wax method, a method still used today in jewelry and sculpture.

Sixty percent of musical instruments come from Africa. In fact, much of western society is taken from Africa. There were glazed pots as old as 3500 years. There were modern paintings (abstracts) by Elaine Crossley and pottery by Barbara Jacob Ward. Also pottery by Vernita , and a room of artwork entitled "Soul Food – Out of the Closet Into Art." It's made of dried soul food, chicken feet, bones, greens, chitterlings and things eaten by the slaves for survival. The largest piece is a bench entitled "The Mourner's Bench," made mostly of bones.

One room is devoted to negative stereotypes of Black people by commercial companies, which were very popular at the turn of the 20th century — some of the cruelest, most degrading stereotypes of Blacks I have ever seen. It includes postcards, posters, statues, even a lawn sprinkler, and many of these items were made by big businesses such as Firestone and Bull Durham.

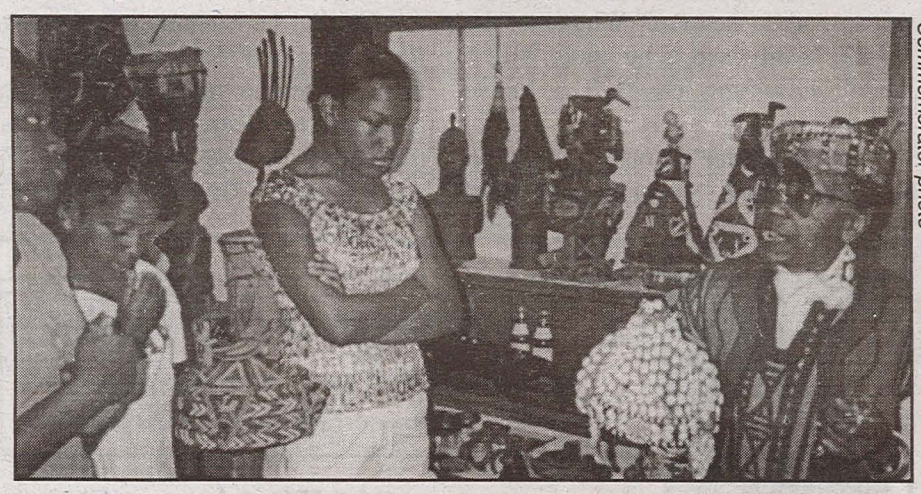
There is much more at The Ebony Museum — you owe yourself a visit. Melvin and I thoroughly enjoyed it. I'm sure you will too.

For more information about the **Ebony Museum, Call: 510.763.9745**



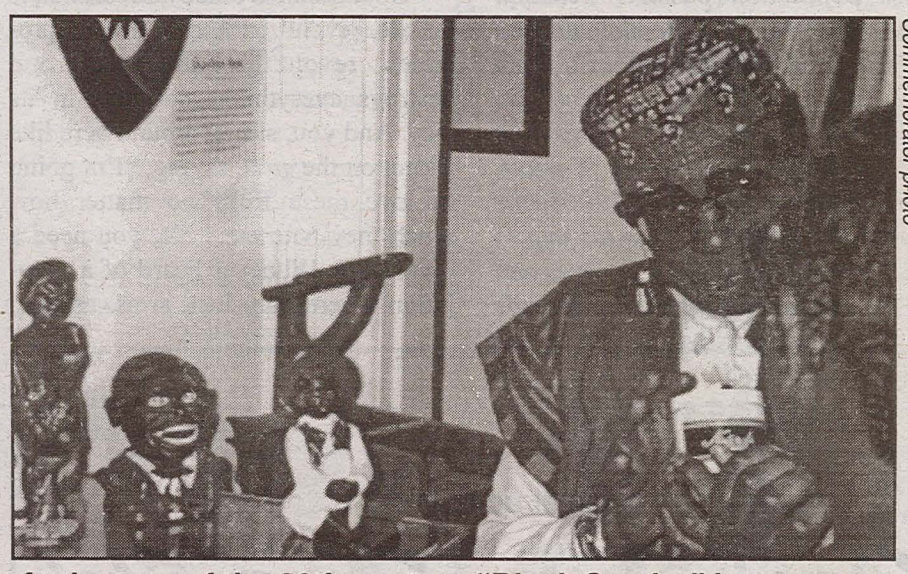
Commemorator photo

The rise of colonialism engendered the rise of colonial dress and organizations, politics and psychology.



Commemorator photo

Students are attentive as the curator explains royal headgear, and the different cultural designs and patterns which reflect each tribe.



Commemorator photo

At the turn of the 20th century "Black Sambo" images were as stereotypical as American cherry pie, which partly explains why to this day some Blacks hold negative perceptions of themselves.

Illustration by Kiilu Nyasha

Malcolm X
May 19, 1925 – February 21, 1965

A Tribute to Malcolm X

Continued from page 9

Negro in the field caught hell. He ate leftovers. In the house they ate high up on the hog. The Negro in the field didn't get anything but what was left of the insides of the hog. They call it "chitt'lings" nowadays. In those days they called them what they were — guts. That's what you were — gut-eaters. And some of you are still gut-eaters.

The field Negro was beaten from morning to night; he lived in a shack, in a hut; he wore old, castoff clothes. He hated his master. I say he hated his master. He was intelligent. That house Negro loved his master, but that field Negro — remember, they were in the majority, and they hated the master. When the house caught on fire, he didn't try to put it out; that field Negro prayed for a wind, for a breeze. When the master got sick, the field Negro prayed that he'd die. If someone came to the field Negro and said, "Let's separate, let's run," he didn't say "Where we going?" He'd say, "Any place is better than here." You've got field Negroes in America today. I'm a field Negro. The masses are the field Negroes. When they see this man's house on fire, you don't hear the little Negroes talking about "*Our* government is in trouble." They say, "*The* government is in trouble." Imagine a Negro: "Our government"! I even heard one say "*our* astronauts." They won't even let him near the plant — and "*our* astronauts"! "*Our* Navy" — that's a Negro that is out of his mind, a Negro that is out of his mind.

Just as the slavemaster of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slavemaster today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, twentieth-century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, to keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent. That's Tom making you nonviolent. It's like when you go to the dentist, and the man's going to take your tooth. You're going to fight him when he starts pulling. So he squirts some stuff in your jaw called novocaine, to make you think they're not doing anything to you. So you sit there and because you've got all of that novocaine in your jaw, you suffer — peacefully. Blood running all down your jaw, and you don't know what's happening. Because someone has taught you to suffer — peacefully.

1965: After the Bombing

By Malcolm X

Before I get involved in anything nowadays, I have to straighten out my own position, which is clear. I am not a racist in any form whatsoever. I don't believe in any form of racism. I don't believe in any form of discrimination or segregation. I believe in Islam. I am a Muslim and there is nothing wrong with being a Muslim, nothing wrong with the religion of Islam. It just teaches us to believe in Allah as the God. Those of you who are Christians probably believe in the same God, because I think you believe in the God who created the universe. That's the one we believe in, the one who created the universe — the only difference being you call him God and we call him Allah. The Jews call him Jehovah. If you could understand Hebrew, you would probably call him Jehovah too. If you could understand Arabic, you would probably call him Allah. But since the white man, your friend, took your language away from you during slavery, the only language you know is his language. You know your friend's language, so when he's putting the rope around your neck, you call for God and he calls for God. And you wonder why the one you call on never answers …

Elijah Muhammad had taught us that the white man could not enter into Mecca in Arabia and all of us who followed him, we believed it… When I got over there and went to Mecca and saw these people who were blond and blue-eyed and pale-skinned and all those things, I said, "Well," but I watched them closely. And I noticed that though they were white, and they would call themselves white, there was a difference between them and the white ones over here. And that basic difference was this: In Asia or the Arab world or in Africa, where the Muslims are, if you find one who says he's white, all he's doing is using an adjective to describe something that's incidental about him, one of his incidental characteristics; there is nothing else to it, he's just white.

But when you get the white man over here in America and he says he's white, he means something else. You can listen to the sound of his voice – when he says he's white, he means he's boss. That's right. That's what white means in this language. You know the expression, "free, white and twenty-one." He made that up. He's letting you know that white means free, boss. He's up there, so that when he says he's white he has a little different sound in his voice. I know you know what I'm talking about.

Despite the fact that I saw that Islam was a religion of brotherhood, I also had to face reality. And when I got back into this American society, I'm not in a society that practices brotherhood. I'm in a society that might preach it on Sunday, but they don't practice it on any day. America is a society where there is no brotherhood. This society is controlled primarily by

You know your friend's language, so when he's putting the rope around your neck, you call for God and he calls for God. And you wonder why the one you call on never answers

the racists and segregationists who are in Washington, DC, in positions of power. And from Washington, DC, they exercise the same forms of brutal oppression against dark-skinned people in South and North Vietnam, or in the Congo, or in Cuba or any other place on this earth where they are trying to exploit and oppress. That is a society whose government doesn't hesitate to inflict the most brutal form of punishment and oppression upon dark-skinned people all over the world.

Look right now what's going on in and around Saigon and Hanoi and in the Congo and elsewhere. They are violent when their interests are at stake. But for all that violence they display at the international level, when you and I want just a little bit of freedom, we're supposed to be nonviolent. They're violent in Korea, they're violent in Germany, they're violent in the South Pacific, they're violent in Cuba, they're violent wherever they go. But when it comes time for you and me to protect ourselves against lynchings, they tell us to be nonviolent.

That's a shame. Because we get tricked into being nonviolent, and when somebody stands up and talks like I just did, they say, "Why, he's advocating violence." Isn't that what they say? Every time you pick up your newspaper, you see where one of these things has written into it that I am advocating violence. I have never advocated any violence. I have only said that black people who are the victims of organized violence perpetrated upon us by the Klan, the Citizens Councils, and many other forms, should defend ourselves. And when I say we should defend ourselves against the violence of others, they use their press skillfully to make the world think that I am calling for violence, period. I wouldn't call on anybody to be violent without a cause. But I think the black man in this country, above and beyond people all over the world, will be more justified when he stands up and starts to protect himself, no matter how many necks he has to break and heads he has to crack…

The Klan is a cowardly outfit. They have perfected the art of making Negroes be afraid. As long as the Negro is afraid, the Klan is safe. But the Klan itself is cowardly. One of them never comes after one of you. They all come together. They're scared of you. And you sit there when they're putting the rope around your neck saying, "Forgive them, Lord, they know not what they do." As long as they've been doing it, they're experts at it, they know what they're doing. No, since the federal government has shown that it isn't going to do anything about it but *talk*, then it is a duty, it's your and my duty as men, as human beings, it is our duty to our people, to organize ourselves and let the government know that if they don't stop that Klan, we'll stop it ourselves. *Then* you'll see the government start doing something about it. But don't ever think that they're going to do it just on some kind of morality basis. No. So I don't believe in violence – that's why I want to stop it. And you can't stop it with love, not love of those things down there. No! So, we only mean vigorous action in self-defense, and that vigorous action we feel we're justified in initiating by any means necessary.

Now, for saying something like that, the press calls us racist and people who are "violent in reverse." This is how they psycho you. They make you think that if you try to stop the Klan from lynching you, you're prac-

Continued on next page

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A Tribute to Malcolm X

Continued from last page

ticing violence in reverse. Pick up on this, I hear a lot of you parrot what the man says. You say, "I don't want to be a Ku Klux Klan in reverse." Well, if a criminal comes around your house with his gun, brother, just because he's got a gun and he's robbing your house, and he's a robber, it doesn't make you a robber because you grab your gun and run him out. No, the man is using some tricky logic on you. I say it is time for black people to put together the type of action, the unity, that is necessary to pull the sheet off of them so they won't be frightening black people any longer. That's all. And when we say this, the press calls us "racist in reverse." "Don't struggle except within the ground rules that the people you're struggling against have laid down." Why, this is insane, but it shows how they can do it. With skillful manipulating of the press they're able to make the victim look like the criminal and the criminal look like the victim.

Right now in New York, we have a couple of cases where the police grabbed a brother and beat him unmercifully — and charged him with assaulting them. They used the press to make it look like he is the criminal and they are the victims. This is how they do it, and if you study how they do it here, then you'll know how they do it over there. It's the same game going all the time, and if you and I don't awaken and see what this man is doing to us, then it will be too late. They may have the gas ovens built before you realize that they're already hot.

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Talk to the Movement

By Dr. Huey P. Newton

There are two kinds of nationalism, revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism is first dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the people in power. Therefore, to be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist. If you are a reactionary nationalist you are not a socialist and your end goal is the oppression of the people.

Cultural nationalism, or pork chop nationalism, as I sometimes call it, is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction instead of responding to political oppression. The cultural nationalists are concerned with returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that the African culture will automatically bring political freedom. Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists.

Papa Doc in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He's against anything other than black, which on the surface seems very good, but for him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends.

The Black Panther Party, which is a revolutionary group of black people, realizes that we have to have an identity. We have to realize our black heritage in order to give us strength to move on and progress. But as far as returning to the old African culture, it's unnecessary and it's not advantageous in many respects. We believe that culture itself will not liberate us. We're going to need some stronger stuff.

Revolutionary Nationalism

A good example of revolutionary nationalism was the revolution in Algeria when Ben Bella took over. The French were kicked out but it was a people's revolution because the people ended up in power. The leaders that took over were not interested in the profit motive where they could exploit the people and keep them in a state of slavery. They nationalized the industry and plowed the would-be profits into the community. That's what socialism is all about in a nut shell. The people's representatives are in office strictly on the leave of the people. The wealth of the country is controlled by the people and they are considered whenever modifications in the industries are made.

Cultural nationalism, or pork chop nationalism, as I sometimes call it, is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction instead of responding to political oppression.

The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary Nationalist group and we see a major contradiction between capitalism in this country and our interests. We realize that this country became very rich upon slavery and that slavery is capitalism in the extreme. We have two evils to fight, capitalism and racism. We must destroy both racism and capitalism.

Well, a very peculiar thing has happened. Historically you got what Malcolm X calls the field nigger and the house nigger. The house nigger had some privileges, a little more. He got the worn-out clothes of the master and he didn't have to work as hard as the field black. He came to respect the master to such an extent until he identified with the master because he got a few of the leftovers that the field blacks did not get. And through this identity with him, he saw the slavemaster's interest as being his interest. Sometimes he would even protect the slavemaster more than slavemaster would protect himself. Malcolm makes the point that if the master's house happened to catch on fire the house Negro will work harder than the master to put the fire out and save the master's house. While the field Negro, the field blacks was praying that the house burned down. The house black identified with the master so much that when the master would get sick the house Negro would say, "Master, we's sick!"

Black Bourgeoisie

The Black Panther Party are the field blacks, we're hoping the master dies if he gets sick. The Black

Continued on page 18

Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party
VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

Sunday	**9 am - 10 am** Orientation	**10 am - 3 pm** Literature Table		**6:30 pm - 10 pm** Volunteers Phone Training Session
Monday	**9am to 10am** (mailouts)	**11 am - 3 pm** Campus Workup: Literature Table & Clipboarding	**6 pm - 7 pm** Orient: History & Purpose of CCBPP	**7 pm - 10 pm** Commemorator Publication Session: Writing, proofing, typing, desktop publishing
Tuesday	**9am to 10am** (mailouts)	**10 am - 3 pm** Phone Business to Sponsor Commemorator	**6 pm - 7 pm** Orientation	**7 pm to 10 pm** Volunteers Phoning
Wednesday	**9 am to 10 am** (mailouts)	**11 am - 3 pm** Business Canvass for Commemorator Sponsorship	**5 pm to 8 pm**:(outreach) Commemorator Subscription Canvass	**8 pm to 10 pm** Volunteers Class
Thursday	**9 am to 11am** (mailouts)	**11 am - 3 pm** Business Canvass for Commemorator Sponsorship	**6 pm - 7 pm** Orientation	**7 pm - 10 pm** Publication Session: Writing, proofing, desktop publishing, typing
Friday	**9am to 10am** (mailouts)	**3pm - 7pm** (outreach) Literature Table		**7:30pm to 9:30PM** Volunteer Class
Saturday	**9 am - 10 am** Orientation	**10 am - 4 pm** Commemorator Publication Session: Writing, proofing, typing, desktop publishing	**12 noon - 4 pm** Literature Table	**4pm - 5:30pm** Weekly Staff Meeting

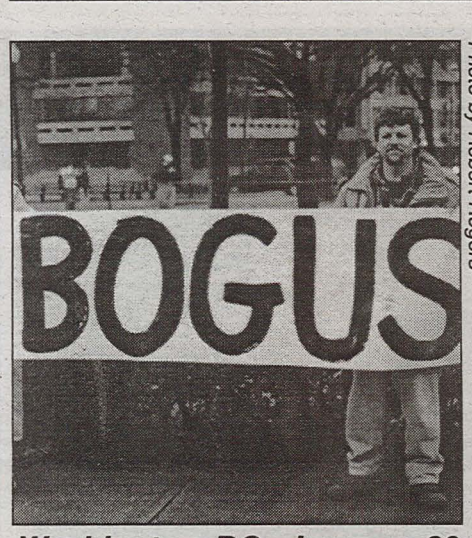

Photo by Robert Rogers

Washington DC, January 20, 2001 inauguration protest against the U.S. Supreme Court selection of George W. for the Presidency.

Bush - Whacking

Continued from page 2

Fascists come in all colors. He bolstered his cadre by appointing a bunch of aged anti-Communist warriors who had served under his father back in the '80's. They immediately dusted off their expensive missile defense systems and began lobbying for bigger Pentagon pork barrels to keep their corporate pals awash with military contracts, and began picking fights with anyone willing to contest America's right to bomb them or spy on them with impunity.

Then, giving Congress an excuse to spend outlandish amounts of money on unnecessary military equipment at a time when even the government admits that the US economy is on the skids, Bush ordered a bombing attack on "radar" stations in Iraq's capital. That was Bush's first foreign policy announcement.

His first domestic policy pronouncement came a few days later when he cracked down on the union of Northwest Airlines pilots and forbade them from striking. He did not order the airline to the bargaining table. Then he canceled a series of executive orders issued by outgoing President Bill Clinton, which were to establish new health and safety regulations on carpal syndrome injuries affecting typists, computer entry clerks, packinghouse workers and others with jobs requiring repetitive motion. The National Association of Manufacturers cheered his action; the AFL-CIO denounced it, and the government still gets away with not enforcing the already existing workplace health and safety laws.

The President "select" shows no concern for what organized labor thinks; trade union membership currently represents less than 11% of the US work force. Nor does Bush care what the people who voted for him want, much less the rest of the disenfranchised population of the nation. Rather, Bush's priorities are the relative few who supplied the two billion bucks it took to elect him — and they have been promised an undreamed-of tax cut and much more. While Bush has gone around the country touting his tax cut plan as one that would restore consumer confidence and put money in the pockets of consumers to help shore up the faltering economy, he didn't tell the people that his plan wouldn't become effective for at least three years, if adopted, and maybe longer.

As it is, the economy is dead for the millions who are unemployed, and everyone else is gasping for breath. Every day, giant corporations — many of whom supported *both* candidates — announce drastic job cuts: A thousand or so at Disney World. Three thousand at Proctor & Gamble. Four thousand or more at Daimler-Chrysler. The new dot-com companies go as fast as they come, from one end of the country to the other. Unemployment is rising fast. Homelessness is rising with it. And Bush tours the country talking of tax cuts and avoids talking about restoring jobs — jobs at living wages.

Some economic observers have noted that Bush's economic policy, like Clinton's before him, centers on increasing automation, compartmentalization and globalization of trade. Since labor is cheaper elsewhere, manufacturing is being organized outside the country. Low-paid McDonald's service jobs have taken the place of the manufacturing jobs that moved from this country to Mexico, China, Indonesia, Malaysia and India. There, instead of paying $20 an hour, U.S. corporations pay $1 to $2 a day. In order to compete, the Welfare Reform Act's workfare programs have workfare workers replacing union workers for $286 a month, of which the employer pays not a penny — the taxpayers do. Prison work programs serve the same function.

A deliberate method of devaluing the worth of human labor is being applied by a ruling class: they can buy labor cheaply throughout the world, and through workfare and prison labor, increasingly in the United States. As a consequence, our society is not caring for its poor, elderly and disabled population. Over 45 million Americans are without health care coverage. Joblessness among African-Americans is 20 percent and rising.

Is it any wonder that there is an increase of violence by Americans against Americans? The increase has more to do with the politics of corruption in a society and a government of trick politicians who are generally beholden to the wealthy class.

People without answers and without solutions to their day to day problems are frustrated and angry, They're taking it out on one another and on society because they feel powerless.

The executive branch has been stolen, the judicial branch has proven itself to be thoroughly corrupted and the legislative branch has been bought once again.

Never before in the history of our country have so many people been told "you didn't vote the right way therefore your vote doesn't count". An additional half-million voters were told that while they were in the majority, the majority doesn't rule.

It had happened before, in 1876 when Samuel Tilden, a Democrat, won 248,000 more votes than his Republican opponent, Rutherford Hayes. The Congress voted to support Hayes in a "compromise" that withdrew the US Army from the South, leaving former slaves to the mayhem of the KKK. Hayes threw open the country to the "robber barons" who stole the land, minerals and forests. His Army exterminated the American Indians. His policies led directly to the depression of 1873 to 1877, the worst seen in the country up to that time.

Taking advantage of the great unemployment, one robber baron, Jay M. Gould, imposed a 10 percent cut in wages for the railroad workers on his lines. It was just one of the ways in which the Goulds, Rockefellers, Carnegies, Mellons, Morgans and other capitalists tried to corral and cow their working force. A tremendous upsurge in militancy among the workers occurred. They would not take it anymore, and they organized. But those forms of organization did not succeed in the long run, and we must study history to not make the same mistakes.

As anger and frustration mounts in these days of increasing repression and suppression, the Commemoration Committee of the Black Panther Party calls out to all working people of all colors, to work together to organize — not only to fight against the onslaughts of government that is imposing immense corporate power over the lives of people, here and around the world — but more importantly, to organize and fight FOR a positive program, as contained within the Black Panther Party's Ten Point Program. The Black Panther Party's Ten Point Program is not only for African-Americans. It is a credo for all working people.

All power to the people!

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3rd Annual Black History Celebration

Commemorator photo

Melvin Dickson, CCBPP Chair and Commemorator Editor urged celebrants to join CCBPP's educational campaign to end conditions of poverty and ignorance.

Continued from page 1

CCBPP's Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign is a call to young people and others to both learn and teach that history and lessons from struggles of the poor and minorities and, at the same time organize and fight for solutions to eliminate the poverty and genocide rampant in our communities. Children and adults learn literacy skills while helping to produce and distribute *The Commemorator* through organizing activities such as speaking engagements and literature tables at schools, churches, social clubs and musical events.

In West Oakland, where 23% of the population is illiterate, the legal system is sending young people to prison as slave labor, rather than developing education programs and jobs that would pay living wages in the community. "These youth are being uprooted to make way for gentrification and redevelopment, so that the wealthy can profit. The same is happening across the country. That's why the Black Panther Ten Point Program is still relevant today," Dickson concluded.

Huey Newton said in his autobiography, *Revolutionary Suicide,* "We must never take a stand just because it's popular." Referring to this statement, Dickson reminded celebration attendees, "We must analyze conditions objectively, take principled positions on matters, always pointing out the truth about what needs to be done, whether these are popular stands in the immediate instance or not. Freedom has never been won by uncritically 'going with the flow.'"

How many slaves' backs were lashed to create our great White House?

Photo by Marlene Krohn

At its 3nd Annual Black History Celebration, CCBPP board member, Dr. Tolbert Small exchanges greeting with board members Alex and Harriet Bagwell.

At the celebration, David Hilliard, former Black Panther leader and director of Black Panther Legacy Tours, said, "No one can tell our history as we can tell it; those who make history." He also pledged to keep the legacy of the Party alive across the nation as well as on school campuses. Hilliard teaches about the Black Panther legacy at Merritt College (formerly Oakland City College) in Oakland where students succeeded in having the Student Lounge named after Party founders Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

Photo by Bobby Coleman

Marlene Krohn (left), emcee at CCBPP's Black History Celebration, with Sandra Williams, BPP founding member.

The magnificent voices of Harriet and Alex Bagwell opened the celebration with the classic civil rights song, "Oh, Freedom." Celebrants enjoyed food and refreshments along with poetry and music. Medical editor for *Commemorator*, Dr. Tolbert Small, who heads the Harriet Tubman Clinic in east Oakland and who formerly organized the Black Panther Sickle Cell Anemia Foundation, read some of his poetry:

Great White House,
cradle of democracy,
eternal seat of freedom.
Who cast thy heroic bronze statues?
Who carved thy pristine white marble walls?
Did the lazy dark people build this citadel of freedom?
How many slaves' backs were lashed to create our great White House?
Truly, the slaves who crawled through your back door built your front door.

CCBPP volunteer Ora Knowwell read several of her poems about the need to reach the youth, concluding, "If we do not want history to continue to repeat itself, with the human cost growing every day, we must teach and organize to change the course of history. For me to participate in the Third Annual Black History Celebration is truly an honor."

Photo by Marlene Krohn

Bobby Coleman, BPP founding member, oversees reception table as young people entered CCBPP's Black History Celebration.

Contact CCBPP about how you can join CCBPP's literacy and community education campaign today.

All power to the people!

'The Truth'

Continued from page 4

rehabilitation, job skills and other programs have also been curtailed.

Society should have more concern for prisoners partaking in rehabilitation, job skills, and other programs to make the prisoners better people before returning back to society. Prisoners who participate in rehabilitation, job skills and programs, according to Department of Justice statistics, will most likely not commit a crime, and will involve themselves less often with other criminals.

Sending prisoners who have been in prisons for the majority of their lives back to society without money, job skills, trade or education, is like putting a loaded gun in the hands of a five-year-old child with the hammer of the gun set in a position to fire.

If prisoners are not prepared before being released from prison, you are dealing with a loaded gun, someone who may continue to be a criminal or burden on the people of society rather than a productive member of society.

The economic structure here in America is linked to the Departments of Justice and Corrections, which has increased slave labor. The administrators of these departments have created modern day prison slavery and such slavery exists in the minds of prisoners who are being fed, clothed, and sheltered as slaves, where begging is acceptable by those with such mentality who have no aspiration for change. That and the administrator's insidious attitudes provide the ingredients of inhuman conditions, which are dominated by those in charge and accepted by most Americans.

The Departments of Justice and Corrections never report how much profit is made from the overwhelming amount of slave labor of African descent men here in America. Only the cost in taxpayers' dollars for the incarceration of these prisoners is reported.

It appears the Departments of Justice and Corrections are enterprises

Continued on page 18

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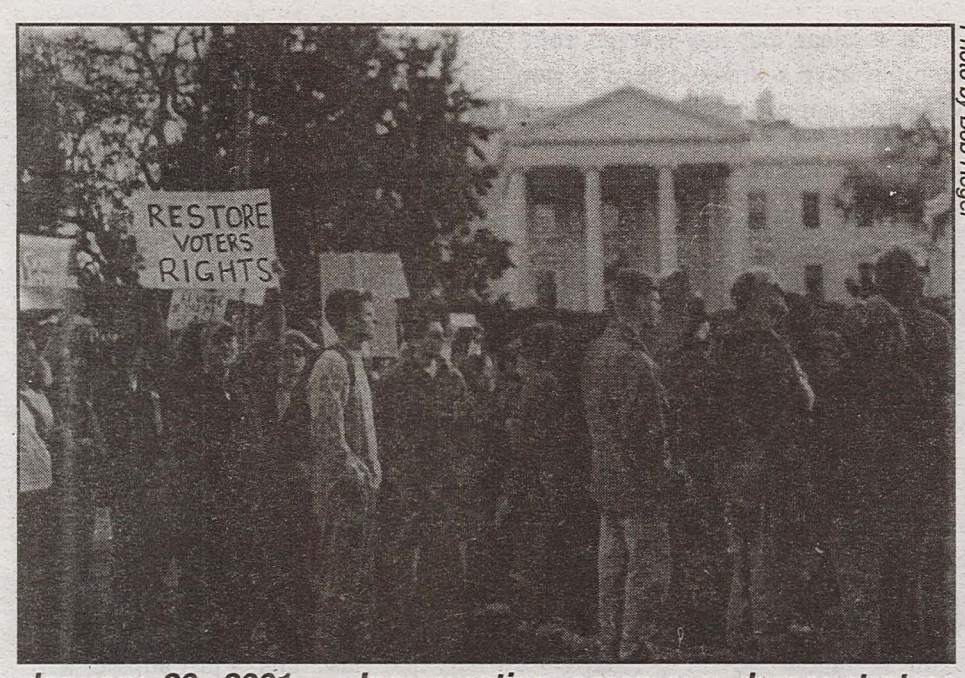

Photo by Bob Roger

January 20, 2001 — Inauguration ceremony demonstrators demand the restoration of voters' rights at the White House.

Nation Demands Justice

Continued from page 1

capital for the political action told *The New York Times.*

At least 15,000 protesters of all ages, occupations and races rallied at San Francisco's Civic Center Plaza to demonstrate against what many called hijacking of the presidential election and where one sign said, "What part of 'counting' don't you understand?" followed by separate marches through the financial district and down Market Street.

On Martin Luther King Day where several thousand people marched and rallied in honor of the assassinated civil rights leader across the country, Walter Johnson, treasurer-secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council exclaimed, "The president was not elected, he was selected by the Supreme Court," and the audience roared in agreement.

Congressional Black Caucus, Other Leaders, Demand Justice

Elected officials within the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) testified at a hearing on election reform, calling the Supreme Court's disenfranchisement of voters a 'coup d'état.' "A 'coup d'état' is a sudden, decisive exercise of force in politics, especially the violent overthrow or alteration of an existing government by a small group," stated Representative John Conyers at the February CBC hearing in Washington, D.C. "(Neither) the president, the attorney general, nor the speaker of the House has said one word about election reform."

"It's outrageous that the Democrats ask for our votes and then for our silence when our votes are subverted," wrote Jill Nelson of *Savoy* magazine. "It's even worse when our leaders collude in this disappearance of Black votes and voices. Can you imagine Martin Luther King Jr., Fannie Lou Hamer or Malcolm X cutting a deal with Democrats, Republicans or anyone else for Black people to shut up and Tom so the 'good' white man can win? You know him: the one who didn't promise us squat in exchange for our support. Talk about being bamboozled!"

Lawsuits on Top of Lawsuits Seeking Justice

"Perhaps nothing Scalia *et al.* did, revealed their consciousness of guilt more than the total lack of legal stature they reposed in their decision…The Court knew that its ruling (that differing standards for counting votes violate the equal protection clause) could not possibly be a constitutional principle cited in the future by themselves, other courts or litigants. Since different methods of counting votes exist throughout the fifty states (e.g., Texas counts dimpled chads, California does not), forty-four out of the fifty states do not have uniform voting methods, and voting equipment mechanisms in all states necessarily vary in design, upkeep and performance, to apply the equal protection ruling of Bush v. Gore would necessarily invalidate virtually all elections throughout the country," sums up Bugliosi.

Two separate lawsuits have been filed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in Georgia and Illinois to challenge respective state electoral processes on behalf of Black and minority voters due to what plaintiffs call "fatally flawed" mechanical voting systems which include antiquated devices, confusing mechanisms, and equipment having significant error rates even when properly used, causing a disproportionate number of ballots from precincts with high racial minority populations going uncounted in the presidential election. The court challenge in Illinois followed the release of official results in Chicago showing that more than 70,000 legally cast ballots were not counted. The lawsuit asks the court to enter a permanent injunction prohibiting the state of Illinois from conducting future elections using the punch card system.

"The right to vote, and to have one's vote accurately and fairly counted, is as fundamental a right as we have in this country. It is now abundantly clear that this precious right was repeatedly violated not only in Florida, but also at polling booths across the country, because of flaws in the voting system that disproportionately affected people of color," wrote the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in *North Coast Xpress,* Spring 2001. "Our nation must now rededicate itself to assuring the equal right to vote. The Voting Rights Act of 1965, won by the Civil Rights Movement only after years of struggle, is not a history lesson. It is living history and we are living it now," the ACLU statement continued.

In Florida, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund, along with the ACLU, the Advancement Project, the Lawyer Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and the People for the American Way Foundation sued Florida in federal court focusing on illegal purges of voter registration rolls in Florida, the turning away properly registered voters at the polls and the disproportionate impact on Black voters of Florida's punch-card ballots. The lawsuit stems from investigation conducted by the NAACP in the days and weeks following the November election.

"Black and poor workers have faced oppression and repression of their human and civil rights since they came to this country as chattel and wage slaves, and it is up to us to organize today for our constitutional rights and the Black Panther Party Ten Point Program," Dickson urged. "When the highest court of law openly violates the law it is empowered to uphold, no one is free. Join CCBPP to build the ways and means to demand all power to the people so that a clique representing wealthy crooks is never again in a position to highjack our legal right to be represented under the guise of the law."

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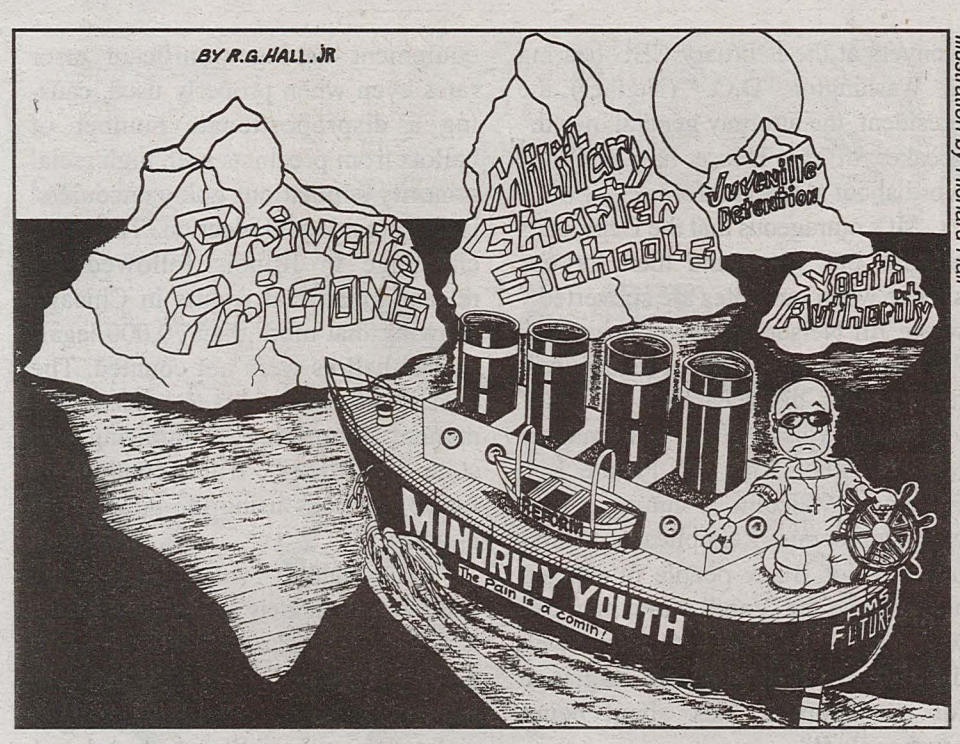


Illustration by Richard Hall

Criminal Risk Factors

Continued from page 8

from Africa. (The former supports *prison-slavery* under modern capitalism, the latter, *chattel-slavery* under emerging and early capitalism).

The removal of millions of prisoners represents the *loss of actual and potential income and earning power* by the communities from which they are/were removed. These communities disproportionately bear the economic costs of financing the criminal justice system in terms of paying higher taxes, fees and costs as a percentage of lower incomes. Lower-income communities typically pay higher rates of property and other taxes to offset the costs of greater police and government administrative agency presence. These communities also pay a higher percentage of the indirect costs in the form of lost income and benefits due to social program cuts such as food stamp and school lunch program reduction and cuts in after-school programs whose budgets compete with criminal justice system expansion.

Prisoners removed from prison feeder plant communities often work for no wages (good time, for example) or slave-wages under the prison-slave, industrial-complex. Instead of actually or potentially earning a living wage capable of supporting a family on the outside, the prisoner is working for nothing, or next to nothing, on the inside. The job at which the prisoner works no longer has the ability to support the prisoner's family as part of the community, and often can't support the prisoner.

The prison-slave, industrial complex gains exclusive control over more and more job categories which are then lost to the community not only as jobs, but as jobs capable of sustaining a family as part of the basic economic and social unit of the community. The criminal justice system then *sells corporations the right to sell prisoners and their families' goods and services at extremely high prices,* jacked-up even higher than ghetto rip-off prices. All of this erodes the actual income and income earning potential of already poor, lower-income and oppressed minority communities.

The family bases within the communities from which millions of prisoners are removed year after year, have been shattered. In the African-American community, as of 1996, according to the US Census Bureau, for example, *almost 60% of* ***all*** *children under 18 years old live with their mothers only.* These are the poorest households in America. This poverty is institutionalized by the fact that millions of actual and potential income earners have been removed by the criminal justice system. In some parent-age groups (25 - 29), almost *80% of African-American children under 18 years old live in poor, single, female-headed households.*

Furthermore, the Census Bureau found there is a direct link between home ownership and two-parent households. Nationally, 83.2% of all homes were owned by two-parent households in 1996. This pattern is true across all communities: white 86.4%, African-American 59.3%, and Latino 81.5%. The rate of *African American home ownership is the lowest,* because this community has the *lowest rate of two-parent households and the highest incarceration rate.*

It is clear that low-income communities have a strategic need to stop wholesale imprisonment of actual and potential income earners and parents from poor, lower-income class and oppressed minority communities. This removal has destroyed the members of these communities individually and their collective income, family and community base. Point Nine of the Black Panther Party Ten Point Program affirms that:

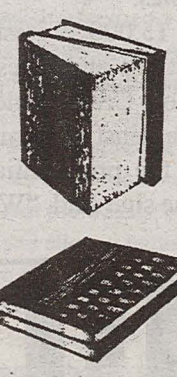
9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY. We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the US military are the victims of oppressive conditions that are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trial.

Parole and criminal justice authorities consistently ignore the *strategic need of our oppressed communities* to have our income, family and community base restored by return of the millions of poor, lower-income and/or oppressed minority persons abducted each year by the American criminal *"just us"* system.

Our communities must arm themselves with the *supreme weapon of truth,* in our own *historic self-interest, as an oppressed class for itself.* We must, in this formation, act as community courts of last resort. We must let it be known all across this nation and the world, that *America's parole and criminal justice apartheid system* has become one of the *greatest threats to the true public safety of our communities.* We must let it be known that their *parole and criminal justice decision-making policies have defined the oppressive social conditions we exist under as criminal risk factors.* This has criminalized our condition of poverty, low-income and/or racial or ethnic minority status as an entire class.

We must leave no doubt that, when they claim that their parole and criminal justice decision-making policies reflect our strategic needs as a community and class, this is just another part of the big lie. We must mobilize to end prison-slavery, and to end America's parole and criminal justice apartheid system now! THIS IS ANOTHER REASON WHY VOLUNTEERS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED!!!

werecat



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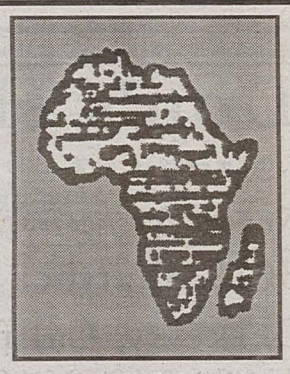

CUSTOM TAILORING AVAILABLE

Photo by Charles Slay

During the demonstration in San Diego against the FTAA California policemen "guard" Nike office.

Zapatista/Fox FTAA

Continued from page 7

Comandante Esther, in the conclusion of her presentation, said, "They say that this will promote a 'backward' legal system. But they forget that the current laws only promote confrontation, punish the poor, give impunity for the rich, condemn the color of our skin and make our language a crime."

Since New Year's Eve 1993, the Zapatistas have epitomized the struggle against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which exploits workers on both sides of the Mexican-US border, has brought the wage level down for US workers and increased the depths of poverty south of the border. Then-President Ernesto Zedillo, presiding over what was being touted in the US and Mexican press as the Mexican economic "miracle," had sold off most of the state-run enterprises to private investors in order to pay back the interest and principal on a $50 billion US engineered bail-out of an impending Mexican economic meltdown. With only hours to go before the newly ratified NAFTA would take effect, masked Zapatista-led rebels took control of San Cristobal de las Casas, an old city in the Mayan highlands of Chiapas. The EZLN, led by the charismatic philosopher-soldier Subcomandante Marcos, with his trademark ski mask and pipe, declared war on the Mexican Federal Army demanding "trabajo, tierra, techo, pan, salud, educación, democracia, libertad, paz, independencia, y justicia," (work, land, shelter, bread, health, education, democracy, liberty, peace, independence, and justice) for the indigenous people of Mexico.

For the following two weeks, the Zapatista Army fought off the Mexican Army in the mountainous jungles and cities of Chiapas. The rebellion captured global attention, and the corporate-owned media labeled the Zapatistas as Marxists, observing that their savvy spokesman Marcos, repeatedly denounced NAFTA and corporate globalization as an "errant nightmare."

Despite the fact that the Mexican Army had superior weapons and numbers, President Zedillo was forced by thousands of protesting Mexicans to call a unilateral truce after just 13 days of fighting.

Due to the exploitative policies of NAFTA and subsequent international corporate exploitation of Mexico's labor, land and environment, Mexico is a nation where farm workers receive the equivalent of $2 a day while a non-agricultural laborer receives about $6. Its capitol city has a population of 20 million, one-third of which live in the most dire poverty, often without access to clean water.

Nevertheless, Fox has indicated that he plans to open up the nation for even further exploitation by international monopoly capital and imperialist interests; and having an active insurgency in the southern part of his country is bad for business.

Fox, first and foremost, is a businessman. He pressed hard for expanded free trade under NAFTA, and in February met with President Bush to discuss a trade agenda that would allow further exploitation of Mexican factory workers at the hands of US corporations. Cisco Systems has set up more than 80 networking academies in Mexico that train students to build and maintain networks, according to an article in *The San Francisco Chronicle*. Fox is also working with the Silicon Valley Center for International Trade Development on a plan to send California community college instructors to Mexico, according to the article, "to teach programming and e-commerce courses" to students there.

Fox took a two-day whirlwind tour of California in March, including a visit to the Central Valley, where he spoke to a gathering of migrant farm workers who were seeking amnesty and access to health care and education, and then headed to the Silicon Valley where he met with high-tech industry leaders to help shape a multi-billion dollar deal with Mexico.

Before returning to Mexico City to face representatives of his internal insurgency, Fox enjoyed a warm reception here in the United States from California Governor Gray Davis, First Lady Laura Bush, and business leaders, who were eager to meet with the former Coca-Cola executive who had toppled the 71-year reign of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

Most Mexicans will not benefit from such free trade, just as sweatshop workers in the Philippines do not benefit from the highly specialized division of labor thrust upon them by major US clothing manufacturers. Harley Shaiken, a UC Berkeley professor specializing in labor and the global economy, said in an interview with *The San Francisco Chronicle*, "What it's meant for workers is that on the job, they work in a clean room. When they go home, they don't have running water." It is no different in Mexico's *maquiladoras* (factories just over the US border) or farming communities, where workers, young and old, do not make enough to purchase even native-grown corn or milk to feed their families and usually have no water or plumbing facilities.

High on the Fox agenda were the unveiling of a high-speed Internet connection between the libraries of the University of California system and Mexican universities; the opening of a Mexican trade office in Santa Ana, Orange County; and the meeting in Fresno with farm workers who are lobbying for amnesty for illegal immigrant workers and an extension of their human rights, an issue which he skirted, telling the cheering crowds instead that "Mexico . . . doesn't forget you, and keeps you always in its heart."

Meanwhile Fox is negotiating a warmed over "guest worker" (a la Bracero) program so those same farm workers can come to the US for further international agribusiness profit.

"The days of finger-pointing are long gone," California Governor Gray Davis told the Chronicle. He was referring to the days of Fox's predecessors, the dynastic rulers of the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) who used to be at odds with the US and the State of California over border restrictions and immigrant labor rights. The how-to's of globalization had not yet been worked out completely. But now, the finger-pointing days are over, and in their place a new era of coordinated economic devastation has taken hold, uniting the U.S. and Mexican governments over the cries and shouts coming from the jungles of Mexico.

President Fox is promulgated by the US media as a man with deft political skills and an ability to appeal to every range of constituent, from heads of multinational corporations to migrant field workers and farmers. His supporters say he is genuinely committed to winning over the Zapatistas. More objective observers have noted that he appears to be pursuing the counterrevolutionary strategic program that George Bush (the elder) put forth in his tenure in the intelligence services of the United States, as Director of the CIA, and as Vice-President and President of the United States.

The Bush strategy is based on the premise that attempts to destroy revolutionary or rebel movements by direct attack are more likely to fail whereas cloaking the counter-revolution in the velvet glove of liberal reforms is more effective. The Bush strategy aims to co-opt wavering elements among the insurgency who do not understand that only gaining and holding state power can insure the maintenance of the gains for indigenous and working people. In this way they hope to isolate the revolutionaries and defeat the revolution in favor of a reformist agenda, and ultimately renege on promises once the revolution or rebellion has been neutralized or destroyed.

The relationship between the Zapatistas and President Fox had been one of distrust during his campaign. Fox made many promises to many groups of people. But Fox had made it clear from the first weeks of his administration that he would place peace in Chiapas high on his agenda, and he did close three major Mexican military installations in the areas around Zapatista strongholds and has pledged to tackle the issues raised by the Zapatistas. The indigenous rights treaty, the San Andrés Accords of 1996, negotiated by Zapatista leaders through a negotiations team sanctioned by former President Zedillo, under a great deal of international pressure, never saw light of day again until Fox took office and submitted the bill to Congress in his sixth week in office. The Zapatistas now are pressing for the implementation of that Accord, on behalf of all indigenous, peasant, poor and working people in Mexico.

The FTAA: The Phantom Menace

On April 18-20, representatives of business and government from over 30 countries, including Mexico, met behind closed doors in Quebec City, Canada, in the face of thousands of demonstrators from throughout the world, to approve final blueprints for the expansion of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Called the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA), it will effectively expand the rules of NAFTA to include the entire western hemisphere. In the name of corporate globalization, the FTAA will be the largest free market zone in the world.

As Fox links arms with North American corporations and moves on to Quebec for the next dizzying round of globalization, his reputation is cemented; he has learned well from his former mentors at Coca-Cola. People are not to stand in the way of profits, and thus, a pall is cast over the so-called Chiapas peace process. A cessation of military hostilities and a symbolic bill of rights for indigenous people in southern Mexico will not alleviate the increasingly murderous conditions faced by workers in Mexico and throughout the western hemisphere.

There is hope for the indigenous and other working peoples of Mexico and the hemisphere. It comes from people who will organize to build working class solidarity across all borders in the spirit of Revolutionary intercommunalism, joining liberation movements of oppressed and exploited communities throughout the world, as Dr. Huey P. Newton told us 30 years ago.

Let us take our communities back from the international dollar. Get involved immediately! Build a fight here in the United States for implementation of the Black Panther Party Ten Point Program. Call *Commemorator* today to find out how you can get involved.

All power to the people!

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A Tribute to Malcolm X

Continued from page 12

bourgeoisie seem to be acting in the role of the house Negro. They are pro-administration. They would like a few concessions made, but as far as the overall setup, they have a little more material goods, a little more advantage, a few more privileges than the black have-nots; the lower class. And so they identify with the power structure and they see their interests as the power structure's interest. In fact, it's against their interest.

The Black Panther Party was forced to draw a line of demarcation. We are for all of those who are for the promotion of the interests of the black have-nots, which represents about 98% of blacks here in America. We're not controlled by the white mother country radicals nor are we controlled by the black bourgeoisie. We have a mind of our own and if the black bourgeoisie cannot align itself with our complete program, then the black bourgeoisie sets itself up as our enemy. And they will be attacked and treated as such.

All power to the people!

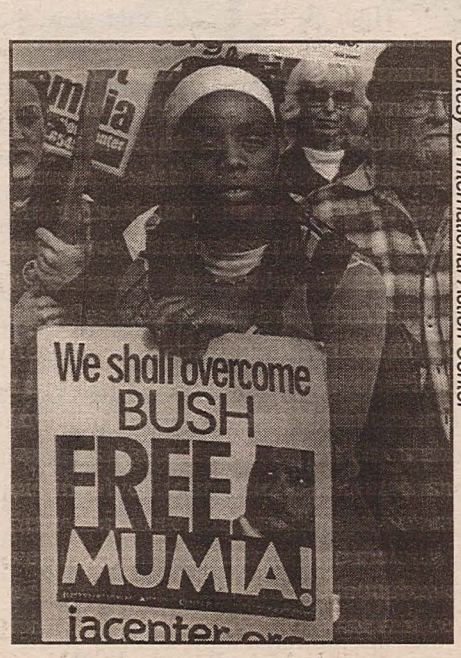
Mumia: Real Crisis

Continued from page 3

Fumiko Robinson, told of her own mother being denied the right to vote, based on an apparent error in the official's log books, which recorded the spelling of her first name wrongly and middle initial. Fumiko's mom, a Japanese- American, could only vote because her husband, an African-American, returned to the polls and fought for her rights to vote.

Stacy Powers, a journalist and radio producer, told of going to half a dozen polling places where she saw systematic harassment and the denial of voters who were Black. She told of a news source who provided her with a list of 940 voters who filed absentee ballots (before the election) which were improperly rejected. When one considers the more recent winning margin claimed by the Bush camp — 930 votes — the improper rejection of the 940 absentee ballots seems somewhat ominous. Powers, asked how many Black voters were disenfranchised in Hillsborough County, the 5th most populous county in the state, replied, "thousands."

A Haitian-American women's activist, Marliene Bastien, cited "dozens" of cases where Haitians were denied help. She told of a call from a man, who said, "I spent so many years, waiting to become an American citizen, to get the right to vote, and now I can't vote!" He was, she said, "crying on the phone."



Courtesy of International Action Center

San Francisco, Jan. 20, 2001 — Mumia supporters protest the stealing of the Presidency by the Bush team and the US Supreme Court.

Yet how many of these voices have you heard represented in the courts, on the news, in the corporate press? Silenced by their suppression at the polling place, they are silenced yet again when their very real concerns are ignored in a national debate that speaks gingerly of "mistakes," yet makes no mention of fraud, intimidation, and blatant violations not merely of the Voters Rights Act, but of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution.

Silence in the face of such crimes, is a criminal indictment of the entire system, which remains deeply opposed to black political power.

All power to the people

Mumia Dismisses Legal Team

Continued from page 4

the central leadership of his defense, the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia, therefore, has yet to make any judgment of the book's content. But the fact that it is to be published without Mumia's knowledge and consent has shocked a number of attorneys who have closely followed the case. This writer, a National Coordinator of Mumia's defense, has just received an "advance uncorrected proof" of the book. I immediately forwarded it to Mumia. A cursory review indicates that while it carefully outlines Mumia's central legal positions, there may well be a number of questionable formulations as well as inclusion of subject matter that might be considered ambiguous, obscure or unwarranted. At this point, facing an imminent press deadline, further comment is not possible.

Leonard Weinglass, one of the nation's leading death penalty and human rights attorneys, has refused comment on Mumia's action dismissing him other than to state that he remains fully committed to help in any way possible.

There is no doubt that under the present circumstances the Williams book will receive the closest scrutiny from those who seek Mumia's execution. For this reason alone, it appears that a grave error has been made.

All power to the people

'The Truth'

Continued from page 4

of a capitalist entity, which profits from those who are prisoners and they will not allow any type of system to uproot their profits which gives them wealth and power from the big corporations by production and mass distribution of goods sold for profit made by the slaves, who are not paid, or are paid unthinkably low wages while they charge society the maximum price for a profit.

If prisoners would obtain full benefits from their slave labor from the capitalist Departments of Justice and Corrections, there would be no huge profits for the few.

Every individual here in America should have the right to the economic opportunity of a chance with equal freedom to make those changes, which is not given to prisoners.

Even if the Departments of Justice and Corrections were forced to pay all prisoners just minimum wage for their work, it could change things. There are established contacts by the Department of Corrections with big corporations that the Department of Justice has approved.

This denial of even minimum wage will continue to cost all victims who are taxpayers, children, and families — as well as the economy itself.

In the last few decades, it has been African descent men here in America, whose families and children have suffered from the economic disadvantage of poor quality education, clothing, food, health care and lack of guidance from the presence of the fathers' support and financial assistance that is needed. They do not get the aid from the government.

By allowing prisoners to be paid at least minimum wages for their work, this money could be used to offset the cost of their imprisonment and support their families and children and give back to society what they have been accused of.

As a result, prisoners would be paying their alleged personal debt to society, and for their incarceration.

It appears, since billions of dollars go to the Departments of Justice and Corrections, administrators feel no need to be concerned with the implementation of minimum wages. The Departments of Justice and Corrections spend public funds without much scrutiny. Society does not seem interested in how tax dollars are spent when it comes to prisoners unless it is portrayed as some unfair benefit prisoners receive.

The Missouri Prison Labor Union (MPLU) is a national struggle involving the rights for all prisoners and people of society here in America.

We are not aiming at replacing or changing the Departments of Justice and Corrections. We are trying to insure human dignity, self-respect, and independence for all Americans here in America. We need America's help to do this.

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Editor's Note: Thank you, Sheik Mark Moore El for your analysis of US prison conditions. It is indeed a national problem; in fact it is an international one relating to the degradation of workers who get slave wages the world over. We are happy to know the Missouri Prison Labor Union is fighting for increased wages for prison labor and for more humane living conditions for all prisoners.

Those who join together with the oppressed against systems of poverty must fight to eliminate the policies of capitalist exploitation of targeted groups, as well as poor and working people everywhere. What they call minimum wage has becomeour maximum wage; prisoners must be paid parity wages for comparable work done outside prison, as a start, while we demand living wages for all worker here and abroad. Otherwise we all risk living like slaves and being paid slave wages.

In this struggle, there are no innocent bystanders. you must take a material position on one side or the other. As freedom and peace loving people, we must stand together to fight for power over our destiny. That's why we're asking everyone to join with the Commemoration Committee now and fight to make the 10-Point Program a reality!

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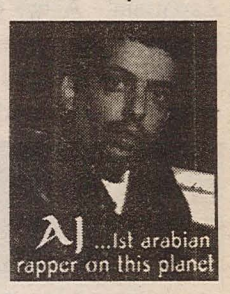
Thanks to my mother and father, who caught me by surprise and encouraged me to continue making music.



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CCBPP STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP) is committed to the goals of the Black Panther Party (BPP) as outlined in its Ten-Point Program which was written in 1966 by Party founders, Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

The Ten-Point Program outlines goals and objectives toward changing conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression in all low-income and working class communities in the U.S. and elsewhere, as the basis for unity and solidarity.

Also, the CCBPP is committed to the concept of Revolutionary Intercommunalism, introduced by Dr. Newton in 1970 at Boston College. Our Revolutionary Intercommunalism holds that there are basically two sides. On one side there is reactionary intercommunalism which presently holds the world's low-income and working communities under conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression by controlling the wealth, resources and institutions in order to maximize profits for the few. Huey identified this side as the leading reactionary side (the ruling class) which consists of a minority, fewer than five percent of the world population. Under these conditions, reactionary intercommunalism, by and large, keeps the poor and working communities on a cycle of degradation, under conditions of reaction, desperation and poverty, with no end in sight. Newton understood that in order to change these conditions and advance the economic and cultural interests of these oppressed communities of the world, disciplined organizations must be built from the bottom up, enabling these low-income and working communities to fight exploitation and oppression by any means necessary (this fight needs to start in the advanced industrialized U.S. because our nation leads the world in political reaction and economic exploitation).

CCBPP advances and upholds the goals which the BPP outlined in its Ten-Point Program, and those goals are about ridding black ghettos and low-income and working communities of economic exploitation and political oppression, understanding that we can reach these goals only by seizing the time at the point of practice.

Black Panther Party Ten-Point Program
WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM, WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions that exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that the racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency that will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS. We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people on our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

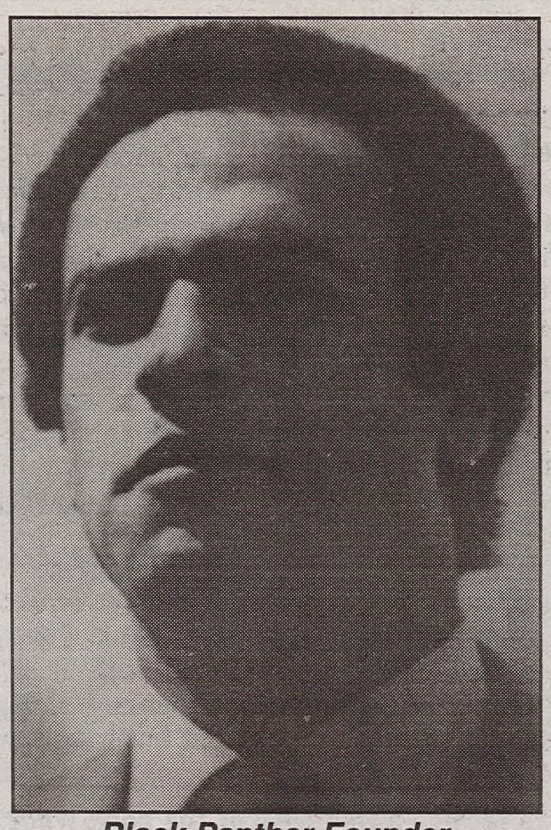
5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE. We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities that will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES. We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color, and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION. We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U. S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U. S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U. S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY, AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY. We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U. S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U. S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions that are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.



Black Panther Founder, Dr. Huey P. Newton

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY. When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism. It is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Free Mumia • Free the Move 11 • Ya Basta! • Dyke Power! Fag Power! • Queers Bash Back • Free All Political Prisoners • Viva Zapata! • Animal Liberation

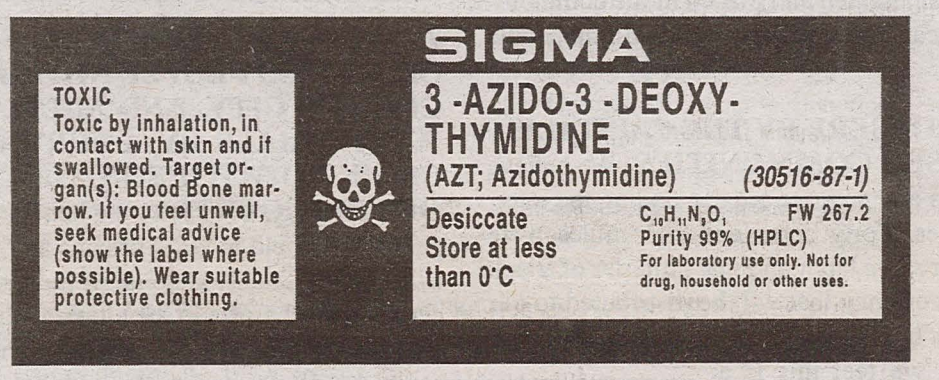
Why Trust What The U.S. Government Says About HIV?

Avoid HIV Tests. Question AIDS Experiments.

In the Black Panther Party's Ten Point Program free health care, decent housing, and community control of modern technology are listed as basic requirements for a sane society. Written in 1966, the Ten Point Program continues to be as valid as ever. In the years following its publication AIDS, crack, the gutting of social services for the poor, the elimination of educational opportunities for youth, increasing police violence and a growing prison industry has further depressed and threatened our communities. A staggering 93 billion dollars has been spent in the past twenty years on AIDS experimentation! Yet government officials tell us there just isn't enough money for universal health care, low-income housing, public transit, libraries, schools or hospitals.

Don't Buy The HIV Lie!

There is no proof that HIV causes AIDS or any other illness. The belief that AIDS is caused by a virus is an unproven hypothesis, not a verified fact. Since the 1984 government announcement of a viral cause for diseases of immune suppression, more than 100,000 papers have been published on HIV. Not one of these papers has been able to effectively prove that HIV can cause AIDS. A good hypothesis is defined by its ability to solve problems, make accurate predictions and produce results. The HIV hypothesis has failed to meet any of these criteria. ACT UP San Francisco has been on the forefront of exposing AIDS Industry lies, challenging researchers and CEOs, and demanding financial accountability. To date the AIDS Industry has nothing but failure to point to. AZT, ddI, ddC, d4T, 3TC, IL2, Saquinavir, Norvir, Viracept, Sustiva, Crixivan, and other profitable pills are all highly toxic, dangerous products being pushed into our communities. Strokes, muscle wasting, anemia, physical deformities, dementia, organ failure and death are only some of the side effects of these poisons. Thousands of gay men in the late 1980s and early 90s died from AZT poisoning. Now the U.S. State Department and the World Health Organization is exporting AZT for use in pregnant African women. Government officials are hard pressed to explain why developing nations stricken with famine and civil chaos should be spending what little money they have on expensive AIDS chemotherapies while millions starve.


SIGMA
TOXIC
Toxic by inhalation, in contact with skin and if swallowed. Target organ(s): Blood Bone marrow. If you feel unwell, seek medical advice (show the label where possible). Wear suitable protective clothing.
3 -AZIDO-3 -DEOXY-THYMIDINE
(AZT; Azidothymidine) (30516-87-1)
Desiccate
Store at less than 0°C
$C_{10}H_{11}N_5O_3$ FW 267.2
Purity 99% (HPLC)
For laboratory use only. Not for drug, household or other uses.

An actual AZT label.
This poison is being exported to Africa as "medicine" for pregnant women.

AIDS Research Kills Communities of Color.

After twenty years AIDS remains a disease category of the marginalized. Gay men, blacks and Latinos continue to be targeted as "high risk" groups. This fact alone proves that AIDS is not a viral epidemic. Viral epidemics affect populations without regard to class, race, or sexual preference. The problem called AIDS is sociological not medical. A growing movement to reevaluate AIDS, question the very notion that HIV causes AIDS and challenge the discriminatory practice of targeting communities with flawed HIV antibody testing continues to be ignored by AIDS Industry officials, government policy makers and pharmaceutical corporations.

On December 22, 1998, the Harlem AIDS Forum sponsored by the Reverend Al Sharpton's National Action Network brought these issues before the Black community. Over 150 people attended a six-hour forum to hear numerous speakers including Keidi Obi Awadu, Curtis Cost and Christine Maggiore discuss the ongoing debate.

It should come as no surprise to *Commemorator* readers that the government that lied about the 1932 Tuskegee syphilis experiment conducted on African-American men in Alabama, that covered up the use of agent orange in Vietnam and uranium depletion weapons in Iraq, and that deceived the world about its role in the assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Patrice Lummumba has misled us about HIV and AIDS. We invite you to investigate the matter yourself by offering a free copy of the groundbreaking book *What If Everything You Thought You Knew About AIDS Was Wrong?* by longterm AIDS survivor Christine Maggiore.

Fight the AID$ Fraud!

ACT UP San Francisco is the AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power—a militant, direct action organization committed to ending the AIDS fraud. General body meetings are held every Monday night at 7:30 p.m. at 1884 Market Street and our medical marijuana dispensary is open 12:00 to 7:00 p.m. Tuesday through Sunday. Get involved. Join ACT UP! End the abuse of AIDS.

Clip and mail the coupon below to receive a free copy of the book *What If Everything You Thought You Knew About AIDS Was Wrong?* or contact us for more information at www.actupsf.com!

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